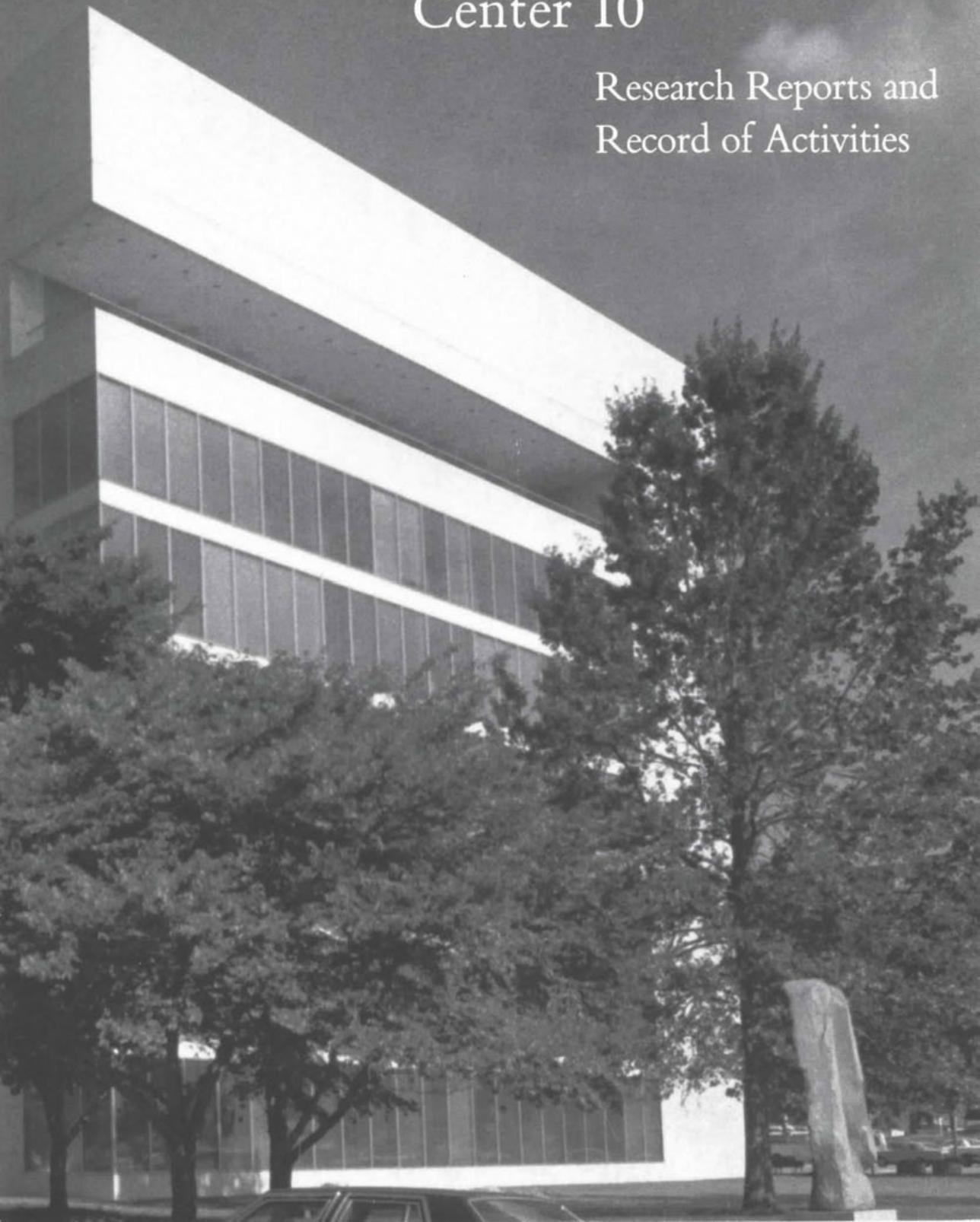
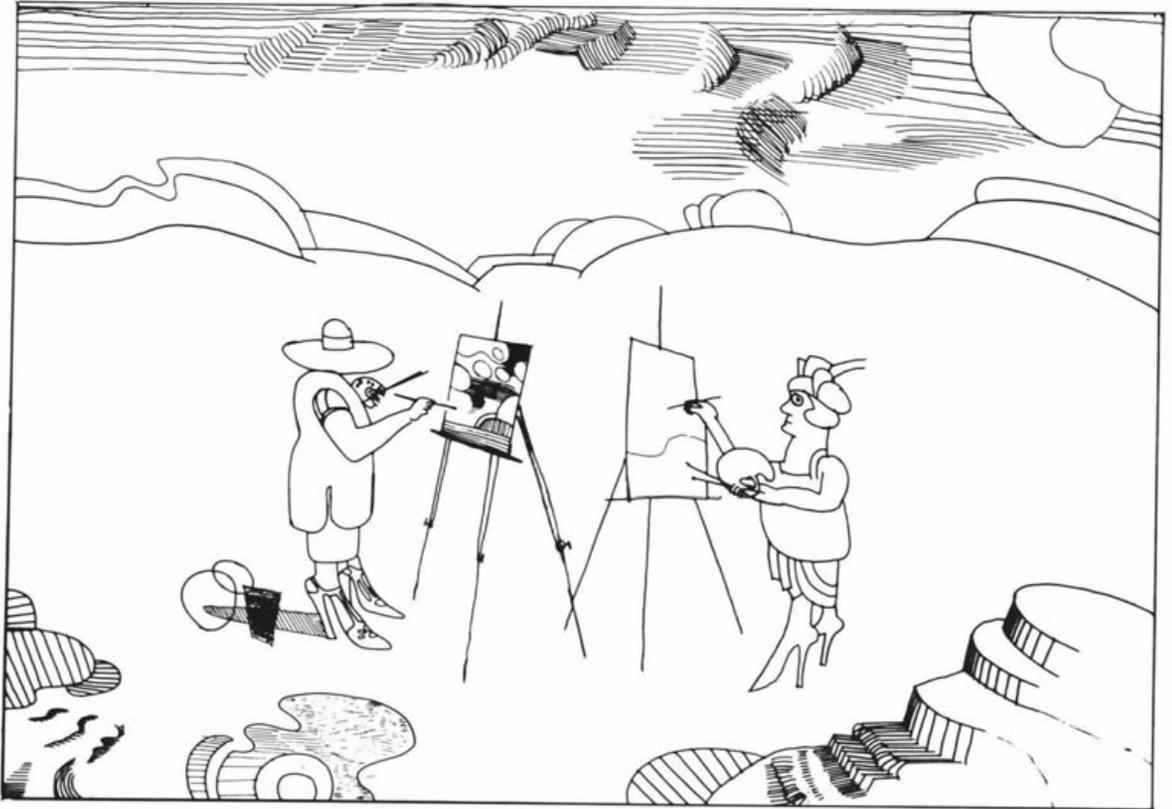


National Gallery of Art

Center 10

Research Reports and
Record of Activities





National Gallery of Art
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY
IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Center 10
Research Reports
and Record of Activities

June 1989–May 1990

Washington, 1990

National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Washington, D.C. 20565

Telephone: (202) 842-6480

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Frontispiece

Saul Steinberg, *Provincetown*, 1984

National Gallery of Art, Gift of Gemini G.E.L. and the artist

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DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAMS



THE CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS was founded in 1979, as part of the National Gallery of Art, to promote study of the history, theory, and criticism of art, architecture, and urbanism through the formation of a community of scholars. This community consists of the Samuel H. Kress Professor, Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, Senior Fellows, Visiting Senior Fellows, Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellows, the National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow, Associates, and Postdoctoral and Predoctoral Fellows. The activities of the Center for Advanced Study, which include the fellowship program, meetings, research, and publications, are privately funded.

FIELDS OF INQUIRY

The Center fosters study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art and artifacts from prehistoric times to the present. Studies of all the visual arts from a variety of approaches by historians, critics, and theorists of art, as well as by scholars in related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, are encouraged. The Center also supports studies of the theory, historiography, and criticism of the visual arts, including critical studies leading to the formation of aesthetic theories.



FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Samuel H. Kress Professorship

The National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts select annually a distinguished art historian as Samuel H. Kress Professor, a position created by the Gallery in 1965. Occasionally two scholars are chosen to serve consecutive terms during the same academic year. Traditionally, the Kress Professor counsels Predoctoral Fellows in their dissertation research. The Kress Professor is the senior member of the Center.

Senior Fellowships

Senior Fellowships are awarded without regard to the age or nationality of applicants. Senior Fellowships are limited to those who have held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possess a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. Awards usually are made for the academic year. Awards for one academic term are also possible. Senior Fellows must reside in the Washington area during the fellowship period, which normally runs from early fall to late spring, and are expected to participate in the activities of the Center. Senior Fellows may not hold other appointments while in residence at the Center.

Senior Fellowship grants are based on individual need. The award will be limited generally to one-half the applicant's annual salary with the expectation that applicants will bring sabbatical stipends or research grants from their home institutions. In addition to a stipend, each Senior Fellow receives round-trip travel expenses; a supplemental housing allowance; a research allowance for photographs, slides, and microfilms; and subsidized luncheon privileges. A study is provided for each Senior Fellow. Limited travel funds are available for presenting papers at professional meetings.

The application deadline for the Senior Fellowship program is 1 October. Each candidate submits an application form including a project proposal, three publications, biographical data, and a financial statement. The application must be supported by three letters of recommendation.

Visiting Senior Fellowships

The Center awards Visiting Senior Fellowships, for a maximum of sixty days during the year, in two periods: (A) September through February, and (B) March through August. Qualifications and conditions of appointment are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Awards include a stipend, a research allowance, subsidized luncheon privileges, and a study. The application deadlines are 21 March for period A and 21 September for period B. Candidates for Visiting Senior Fellowships need two letters of recommendation in support of their application. Submission of publications is not required.



Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellowships

The Center announces a new program for Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellows for scholars from central and eastern Europe: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Yugoslavia. The Soros Fellowships include a period of two months at the Center for research in Washington libraries and collections, followed by an additional two months of travel to visit collections, libraries, and other institutions in the United States. Each Soros Fellow receives a stipend that includes travel, research, and housing expenses. Each Fellow is provided with a study and other privileges while in residence at the Center. The application deadlines and award periods are the same as those of the Visiting Senior Fellowship described above.

National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellowships

One Senior Fellowship is reserved for a qualified art historian who has served at least one year in a department of the National Gallery, and who holds the Ph.D. or a record of professional achievement at the time of application. Curatorial Fellows may obtain leave for up to six months to pursue their projects.

The application deadline is 1 October. Candidates submit a proposal and an application form similar to that for a Senior Fellowship, but with only two publications required.



Associate Status

The Center may appoint Associates who have obtained awards from other granting institutions. These appointments are without stipend and can be made for periods ranging from one month to an academic year. Qualifications and conditions are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships and Senior Fellowships. The application deadline for Associate appointments for a full year or a single academic term is 1 October, and the application procedures are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Applications will also be considered on 21 March for appointments of less than one academic term during the period September–February and on 21 September for appointments of less than one academic term during the period March–August. For short-term applications, procedures are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships.

Postdoctoral Fellowships

One Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship is available each year to a fellow holding the Samuel H. Kress or Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellowship. During this twelve-month appointment the fellow is associated with an appropriate Gallery department pursuing curatorial work while preparing the dissertation for publication.

Predoctoral Fellowships

The Center for Advanced Study awards a number of one-, two-, and three-year fellowships to Ph.D. candidates in any field of art history who have completed their university residency requirements, course work, two language examinations, and general or preliminary examinations. Certain fellowships

are designated for research in specific fields. Others require a period of residency at the Center that includes participation in a curatorial research project at the National Gallery. Applicants either must be United States citizens or enrolled in a university in the United States.

Application for the National Gallery Predoctoral Fellowships may be made only through graduate departments of art history and other appropriate departments, under the sponsorship of departmental chairs. The application deadline is 15 November. Fellowship grants begin on 1 September each year and are not renewable. All contact should be between the departmental chair and the Center for Advanced Study. Nomination forms will be sent to departmental chairs.

Other Information about Tenure and Application

Members may not apply for other Center fellowships while an application is pending or once a fellowship has been awarded. The award itself is not renewable and may not be postponed. Visiting Senior Fellows may receive an award in three consecutive years but thereafter must wait three years before reapplying to the Center. Holders of Senior Fellowships and Associate appointments for two terms may reapply after an interval of five years. Holders of one-term appointments, including National Gallery Curatorial Fellowships, may reapply after three years. The appropriate application forms for Senior Fellowships, Visiting Senior Fellowships, Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellowships, National Gallery Curatorial Fellowships, and Associate appointments may be obtained by writing to the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 20565. Further information about these fellowships may be obtained from the Assistant to the Fellowship Program, (202) 842-6480.



FACILITIES

The offices, seminar room, and individual studies of the Center are located in the East Building of the National Gallery of Art. These facilities are always available, as is the library of over 120,000 volumes. The Gallery's collections, photographic archives, and other services are available during regular business hours. Members of the Center for Advanced Study also have access to other libraries in the Washington area, including the Library of Congress, the Folger Library, Dumbarton Oaks, and the libraries and collections of the various museums of the Smithsonian Institution. Luncheon is available for fellows and staff in the National Gallery refectory on weekdays.

PROGRAM OF MEETINGS

The Center sponsors programs of regular and special meetings throughout the academic year. Meetings held at regular intervals include colloquia presented by the senior members of the Center and shoptalks given by Predoctoral Fellows. Art historians and other scholars at universities, museums, and research institutes in the Washington area are invited to participate in these gatherings. Periodic meetings involving participants from the local, national, and international community of scholars include seminars, symposia, conferences, lectures, *incontri*, and the curatorial colloquy. Such gatherings, along with the Center's weekly luncheon and tea, annual reception in honor of the new members, and annual introductory meeting with the curatorial departments of the National Gallery, encourage formal and casual exchange among the members and help stimulate critical discourse among scholars in advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines.

A list of the meetings held at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts in 1989–1990 may be found on pages 23–30.



PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center are published annually (see pages 34–86 for reports written by members in 1989–1990). The Center also publishes an annual listing of awards for research in the history of art sponsored by granting institutions in the United States and abroad. This year saw the publication of *Sponsored Research in the History of Art 9*, listing awards for 1988–1989 and 1989–1990.

Papers presented at symposia sponsored by the Center are often gathered and published in the symposium series of the National Gallery's *Studies in the History of Art*. Twelve symposium volumes have appeared to date: *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Volume 10); *El Greco: Italy and Spain* (Volume 13); *Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682: A Symposium* (Volume 14); *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Volume 16); *Raphael before Rome* (Volume 17); *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination* (Volume 19); *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Volume 20); *Italian Medals* (Volume 21); *Italian Plaquettes* (Volume 22); *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Volume 25); *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Volume 27); and *The Architectural Historian in America* (Volume 35). Papers from six other symposia are being prepared for publication as volumes of *Studies: Winslow Homer* (Volume 26); *Nationalism in the Visual Arts* (Volume 29); *The Mall in Washington, 1791–1991* (Volume 30); *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times* (Volume 31); *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Volume 32); and *American Art around 1900* (Volume 37). Additionally, the Center has gathered the papers of four symposia for publication in the series: *Michelangelo Drawings*, *Art and Power in Seventeenth-Century Sweden*, *The Pastoral Landscape*, and *The Artist's Workshop*; and is in the process of gathering papers from two more: *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Post-Classical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908–1988)* and *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen*.

RESEARCH PROGRAM

In 1982–1983 the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts initiated a program of long-term research projects. One such project, under the direction of the dean of the Center and with the support of the J. Paul Getty Trust and consulting scholars, involves the compilation of a photographic archive of architectural drawings, as well as the development of an automated cataloguing system including a program for interrelated indexing. It is expected that the archive will include photographs of architectural drawings up to the year 1800 held in public collections of North America and Europe. Another research project aims to develop a standard method of gathering and processing information on illustrated Islamic manuscripts and to organize the documentation in a centralized and easily accessible compilation. The project will deal with manuscripts written in Persian and produced in Iran, Central Asia, and



Afghanistan during the fourteenth through the fifteenth centuries. The goals of this project, which is under the direction of the associate dean, are to permit the study of broad technical and historical issues and to encourage the exploration of various methodologies that might be employed to evaluate the entire Islamic manuscript tradition. A third research project, under the direction of the assistant dean, is the creation of an illustrated historical dictionary of landscape and garden design terminology. Employing images and texts from the seventeenth to nineteenth century, the intention is to track words as they were adapted and transformed in the evolution of an American landscape vocabulary.

BOARD OF ADVISORS AND SELECTION COMMITTEE

A Board of Advisors, comprised of eight art historians appointed with rotating terms, meets annually to consider the policies and programs of the Center for Advanced Study. The board also serves on selection committees to review all fellowship applications to the Center. In addition, a member of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery is present during the interview of applicants for Predoctoral Fellowships. The committee forwards recommendations for appointment to the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery.

REPORT ON THE ACADEMIC YEAR
June 1989–May 1990

BOARD OF ADVISORS

Svetlana Alpers, University of California, Berkeley
Everett Fahy, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Anne d'Harnoncourt, Philadelphia Museum of Art
Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts
William Loerke, Dumbarton Oaks
Donald Preziosi, University of California, Los Angeles
Jules Prown, Yale University
John Rosenfield, Harvard University
Juergen Schulz, Brown University
Linda Seidel, University of Chicago
Cecil L. Striker, University of Pennsylvania

STAFF

Henry A. Millon, *Dean*
Marianna S. Simpson, *Associate Dean*
Therese O'Malley, *Assistant Dean*
Christine Challingsworth, *Cataloguer (Architectural Drawings Cataloguing Project)*
Tracy Cooper, *Research Assistant to the Dean*
Sabine Eiche, *Senior Research Associate (Architectural Drawings Cataloguing Project)*
Massumeh Farhad, *Research Assistant to the Associate Dean*
Marc Gotlieb, *Research Assistant to the Kress Professor*
Claire Sherman, *Project Head (Sponsored Research in the History of Art)*
Susan Taylor, *Research Assistant to the Assistant Dean*
Susan Bewley, *Assistant to the Program of Regular Meetings (to November 1989)*
Cecelia Gallagher, *Assistant to the Program of Special Meetings*
Deborah Gómez, *Assistant to the Fellowship Program*
Amelia Henderson, *Secretary to the Kress Professor and Special Projects*
Curtis Millay, *Assistant to the Program of Sponsored Research in the History of Art and Secretary to Research Programs*
Helen Tangires, *Staff Assistant*
Alesia Taylor, *Assistant to the Program of Regular Meetings (to June 1990)*

Curatorial Liaison

Diane De Grazia, *Curator of Southern Baroque Painting*
Department of Southern Baroque Painting

MEMBERS

Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1989–1990

Milton W. Brown, City University of New York, Graduate School and University Center

Senior Fellows

David Bindman, University College London
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1990
Sculpture, Politics, and Theology in Eighteenth-Century England: Louis François Roubiliac and His Public

Janet Cox-Rearick, City University of New York, Hunter College and Graduate School and University Center
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, fall 1989
Studies in the Art of Agnolo Bronzino (1503–1572)

Robert W. Gaston, La Trobe University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, fall 1989
Aspects of the Art of Agnolo Bronzino

Kristian Knud Jeppesen, University of Århus
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1989–1990
Preparation of a Manuscript and Illustrations for Volume 4 of the Maussolleion Publication: The Site of the Sepulchral Monument, Its Foundations, Tomb Chamber, and Superstructure



Dale Kinney, Bryn Mawr College
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1989–1990, and joint appointment as Distinguished Professor in the History of Art, George Washington University
Ivory Diptychs and Art-Historical Understanding in Late Antiquity

Patricia Leighton, University of Delaware
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1989–1990
Art and Social Radicalism in France, 1900–1914

Piotr Piotrowski, Adam Mickiewicz University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1989–1990
The Poverty of the Avant-Garde

Visiting Senior Fellows

Doreen Bolger, Amon Carter Museum
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1990
The Patrons of the American Still-Life Painter William M. Harnett

John Stephen Gage, Cambridge University
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1990
The Optical-Theoretical Context of Some Examples of American Color-Field Painting

Ann Eden Gibson, Yale University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1990
Toward a Cultural History of Abstract Expressionism: Gender and "Race" in the New York School

Bianca Kühnel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1990
The Ivory Bookcovers of the Queen Melisende Psalter (London, British Museum, Egerton 1139)

Gustav Kühnel, Tel Aviv University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1990
Wall Mosaics in the Holy Land

Patricia Mainardi, City University of New York, Brooklyn College and Graduate School and University Center
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1990
The Politics of Display: The 1883 Exposition Nationale Triennale

Sherrin Marshall, University of New Hampshire, Plymouth State College
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1989
The Dutch Family in Life and Art, 1450–1700

Zygmunt Wazbinski, University of Torun, Institute of Fine Arts
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1990
Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte as the Protector of the Roman Academy of St. Luke

Ernst van de Wetering, University of Amsterdam
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1989
Rembrandt Paintings, 1643–1655, in the National Gallery's Collections

Dieter Wuttke, Universität Bamberg
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1989
An Edition of Selected Letters of Erwin Panofsky

Loránd Zentai, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1990
*A Catalogue of Central Italian Renaissance Drawings in the Museum of Fine Arts,
Budapest*

Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellows

Maria Poprzecka, University of Warsaw, Institute of the History of Art
summer 1990

Olga Pujmanová, National Gallery, Prague
summer 1990

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow

Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Curator of Old Master Drawings
1989–1990
The Drawings of Antoine Watteau: Toward a New Catalogue Raisonné

Predoctoral Fellows

Robert Mark Antliff [Yale University]
Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellow, 1988–1990*
The Relevance of Bergson: Creative Intuition, Fauvism, and Cubism

Andrea L. Bolland [University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]
Chester Dale Predoctoral Fellow, 1989–1990
Mantegna Studies

John Davis [Columbia University]
Wyeth Predoctoral Fellow, 1988–1990*
*Picturing Palestine: The Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art
and Culture*

Carolyn S. Dean [University of California, Los Angeles]
Chester Dale Predoctoral Fellow, 1989–1990
*Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi Festival: Cultural Strategy and Social
Conflict in Viceregal Peru*

Isabelle Frank [Harvard University]
Paul Mellon Predoctoral Fellow, 1988–1991
Melozzo da Forlì and the Rome of Sixtus IV

Alessandra Galizzi [Johns Hopkins University]
David E. Finley Predoctoral Fellow, 1988–1991
Francia and Devotional Expression in Italian Art c. 1500

- Randall C. Griffin [University of Delaware]
 Wyeth Predoctoral Fellow, 1989–1991
Thomas Anshutz: A Contextual Study of His Art, Teaching, and Influence
- Ronda J. Kasl [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
 Paul Mellon Predoctoral Fellow, 1989–1992
The Cartuja de Miraflores: A Study of Royal Patronage and Hispano-Flemish Style in Fifteenth-Century Burgos
- Amy Kurlander [Harvard University]
 Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellow, 1989–1991
The Later Work of Camille Corot: Varieties of Landscape Practice, 1850–1867
- Mitchell F. Merling [Brown University]
 Samuel H. Kress Predoctoral Fellow, 1989–1991
Marco Boschini and His Circle: Art, Theory, and Culture in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Venice
- Nadine M. Orenstein [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
 David E. Finley Predoctoral Fellow, 1989–1992
Hendrick Hondius (Duffel 1573–The Hague 1650): Prints and the Business of Printmaking in Seventeenth-Century Holland
- D. Fairchild Ruggles [University of Pennsylvania]
 Ittleson Predoctoral Fellow, 1989–1991
Madinat al-Zahra's Constructed Landscape: A Case Study in Islamic Garden and Architectural History
- Sarah Schroth [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
 David E. Finley Predoctoral Fellow, 1987–1990*
The Private Art Collection and Patronage Activities of the Cardinal-Duke of Lerma
- Christopher Thomas [Yale University]
 Samuel H. Kress Predoctoral Fellow, 1988–1990*
The Lincoln Memorial and Its Architect, Henry Bacon (1866–1924)
- Jeffrey Weiss [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
 Paul Mellon Predoctoral Fellow, 1987–1990*
Cubism and Early French Dada in the Aesthetic Milieu of the Café and Cabaret, 1908–1918
- Marjorie E. Wieseman [Columbia University]
 Robert H. and Clarice Smith Predoctoral Fellow, 1989–1990
Caspar Netscher and Late Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting

*in residence 19 September 1989–31 August 1990

MEETINGS

Symposia

17–18 November 1989

EIUS VIRTUTIS STUDIOSI: CLASSICAL AND POST-CLASSICAL STUDIES IN MEMORY OF FRANK EDWARD BROWN (1908–1988) II

Cosponsored with the American Academy in Rome; Part I held at the American Academy in Rome, 6 June 1989

SESSION I

Moderator: Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Lawrence Richardson, Jr., Duke University

The Aims of Vitruvius Reappraised Archaeologically

Russell T. Scott, Bryn Mawr College

Excavations of the American Academy in the Roman Forum: The Area Sacra of Vesta

Susan B. Downey, University of California, Los Angeles

The Palace of the Dux Ripae at Dura-Europos: New Soundings

Susan B. Matheson, Yale University Art Gallery

The Final Season at Dura-Europos, 1936–1937

Anne Laidlaw, Hollins College

Excavations in the Casa di Sallustio: A Preliminary Assessment

SESSION II

Moderator: J.J. Pollitt, Yale University

Vincent Bruno, University of Texas at Arlington

The Art of the Monochrome in Greek and Roman Painting

Jacquelyn Collins Clinton, Wells College

A Hellenistic Torso at Cosa



Emeline Richardson, Durham, North Carolina

Hellenistic Bronzes from Central Italy

David F. Grose, University of Massachusetts at Amherst

The Early Development of the Roman Glass Industry: The Julio-Claudian and Flavian Eras

Richard Brilliant, Columbia University

Hairiness: A Matter of Style and Substance in Roman Portraits

SESSION III

Moderator: Russell T. Scott, Bryn Mawr College

Lucy Shoe Meritt, University of Texas at Austin

The Athenian Ionic Capital

Malcolm Bell III, University of Virginia

Observations on Western Greek Stoas

Joseph Coleman Carter, University of Texas at Austin

Taking Possession of the Land: Early Greek Colonization in Southern Italy

Fikret K. Yegül, University of California, Santa Barbara

The Palaestra in Herculaneum as a New Architectural Type

William L. MacDonald, George Mason University

Hadrian's Circles

SESSION IV

Moderator: John H. D'Arms

Alfred Frazer, Columbia University

The Imperial Fora: The Metrological Connection

James Packer, Northwestern University

The West Library in the Forum of Trajan: The Architectural Problems and Some Solutions



Herbert Bloch, Harvard University (emeritus)

The Inscription of the Bronze Doors of Montecassino: A Contribution of Classical Archaeology to Medieval Studies

John Pinto, Princeton University

Piranesi at Hadrian's Villa

Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Bianchini's Excavations and Reconstruction of the Palatine in the Early Eighteenth Century

18–19–20 January 1990

INTELLECTUAL LIFE AT THE COURT OF FREDERICK II
HOHENSTAUFEN

HISTORY

Moderator: Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

James M. Powell, Syracuse University

Economy and Society in the Kingdom of Sicily under Frederick II: Recent Perspectives

David S.H. Abulafia, Cambridge University

Ethnic Variety and Its Implications: Frederick II's Relations with Jews and Muslims

Piero Morpurgo, Università degli Studi di Roma I "La Sapienza"

Philosophia naturalis at the Court of Frederick II: From the Theological Method to the ratio secundum physicam in Michael Scotus' De Anima

Peter Herde, Universität Würzburg

Literary Activities of the Imperial and Papal Chancery during the Struggle between Frederick II and the Papacy





ART HISTORY I

Moderator: Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Gary M. Radke, Syracuse University

The Palaces of Frederick II

Rainer Kahsnitz, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg

Gab es staufische Kameen?

Rebecca W. Corrie, Bates College

The Conradin Bible and the Problems of Court Ateliers in Southern Italy in the Thirteenth Century

SCIENCE AND ASTRONOMY

Moderator: Willibald Sauerländer, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in München (emeritus)

Giulia Orofino, Università degli Studi di Firenze

Il rapporto con l'antico e l'osservazione della natura nell'illustrazione scientifica di età sveva in Italia meridionale

Antonio Thiery, Radiotelevisione Italiana, Rome

Federico II e la conoscenza scientifica

Massimo Oldoni, Università degli Studi di Salerno

La promozione della scienza: l'Università di Napoli e i rapporti con il Mediterraneo

ART HISTORY II

Moderator: Caroline Bruzelius, Duke University

Carla Ghisalberti, Università degli Studi di Roma I "La Sapienza"

I legami culturali e stilistici tra la scultura architettonica federiciana dell'Italia meridionale e il mondo cistercense

Jill Meredith, Duke University Museum of Art

The Arch at Capua: The Strategic Use of Spolia and References to the Antique

Wolfgang Krönig, Universität Köhn

Castel del Monte. Der Bau Friedrichs II

ART HISTORY III

Moderator: Herbert L. Kessler, Johns Hopkins University

Valentino Pace, Università degli Studi di Roma I "La Sapienza"

Art for Frederick II and Art in Southern Italy

Virginia Roehrig Kaufmann, Princeton, New Jersey

The Magdeburg Rider: An Aspect of the Reception of Frederick II's Cultural Politics North of the Alps?

Willibald Sauerländer, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in München (emeritus)

Two Glances from the North: (1) The Presence and Absence of Frederick II in the Art of the Empire; (2) The Court Art of Frederick II and the opus francigenum

6-7 April 1990

MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART:
TWENTIETH ANNUAL SESSIONS

Cosponsored with the Department of Art History, University of Maryland at
College Park

Introduction: William Tronzo

Thomas Dale [Johns Hopkins University]

Allegorical Veils: Socle Decoration in the Crypt of Aquileia

Introduction: Mary D. Garrard

Kathryn Borten [American University]

Rosso Fiorentino's "Death of Adonis" Tapestry: New Iconographic Considerations

Introduction: Barbara Wisch

Heidi Hornik [Pennsylvania State University]

The Fresco Cycle of Michele di Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio (1503-1577) and His Workshop in the Genucci-Cancellieri Chapel at the Villa Caserotta, San Casciano, Val di Pesa

Introduction: Ann Sutherland Harris

John J. Chvostal [University of Pittsburgh]

Reflections on the Theme of Opulence: Clara Peeters Reconsidered

Introduction: David M. Stone

Raffaella Pulejo [University of Delaware]

Domenichino and Raphael: A Musical Relationship

Introduction: June Hargrove

Kimberly Jones [University of Maryland]

Johannes Vermeer's Woman Holding a Balance: A Secularized Vision of the Virgin Mary

Introduction: David Bjelajac
Karen L. Pignataro [George Washington University]
Celebrating the Co-Discoverer of America: Harriet Hosmer's Queen Isabella

Introduction: Arthur S. Marks
Helen Langa [University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]
*Egalitarian Vision, Gendered Experience: Women Printmakers and the WPA
Graphic Arts Project*

Introduction: Lydia Gasman
Victoria Jean Beck [University of Virginia]
Mediterranean Myths: The Art and Writings of Picasso, 1945-1953

Seminar

3 November 1989
PRINTS AND PROTOTYPES

Participants:

Suzanne Boorsch, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Barbara Butts, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Marjorie B. Cohn, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University
Elizabeth Cropper, Johns Hopkins University
Diane De Grazia, National Gallery of Art
Margaret Morgan Grasselli, National Gallery of Art
Caroline Karpinski, Washington, D.C.
Walter Melion, Johns Hopkins University
Joann Moser, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution
Sue Welsh Reed, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Timothy Riggs, Ackland Art Museum
Andrew Robison, National Gallery of Art
Innis Shoemaker, Philadelphia Museum of Art
Richard Spear, Oberlin College
Egon Verheyen, George Mason University

Colloquia LXXXVI-XCII

19 October 1989
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LECTURE ABSTRACT

ROBERT L. PATTEN

Rice University

Childhood in Crisis

Representations of children in British art and literature between 1750 and 1900 record a change in the depiction of childhood from a state principally important for dynastic or spiritual reasons to a succession of stages indicating moral and psychological development. Using George Eliot's conception of crisis as "that concentrated experience which . . . reveals the bias of a nature, and is prophetic of the ultimate act which will end an intermediate struggle," this talk will explore one particular childhood crisis: the fight. Early pictorial treatments by Johan Zoffany and George Cruikshank emphasize the child's preparation for a military career; later ones, especially by William Mulready, question the propriety of the aggressive instinct or try to regulate it. The connection between schoolboy fisticuffs and battlefield victories is both asserted and parodied. Simultaneously, the child is reconceived as the site of internal warfare between good and bad impulses, a psychic field of combat. Whereas some mid-Victorian authors endorsed adult discipline and authority, Charlotte Brontë in *Jane Eyre* and Charles Dickens in *David Copperfield* seem to side with their rebellious protagonists; and in *Great Expectations*, Pip's fight with Herbert Pocket in the ruined garden of Satis House is presented as a complex event in a boy's maturation. These figurations of preadolescent conflict often register the "explosive intimacy" of the middle-class family as it turns inward on itself and strives for privacy and self-sufficiency. At the end of the century one widely-disseminated icon, John Everett Millais' *Bubbles*, reasserts the child's fragile innocence. When this image was commercialized as a sentimental representation of purity and cleanliness, its more troubling and ambiguous implications were deliberately effaced.

Although the instances adduced in this paper by no means comprehend all the artistic and conceptual alternatives for constructing childhood devised in Britain during this period, they exemplify some of the ways Western cultures have thought about "The World of the Child" over the last three centuries.



RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS

RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS

The following research reports concern work accomplished by fellows of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts in residence during the period June 1989 to May 1990. Additional reports are included by members whose fellowships ended as of August 1990. Remaining reports by Visiting Senior Fellows for the summer 1990 will appear in *Center 11*.



The Relevance of Bergson: Creative Intuition, Fauvism, and Cubism

My study is the first to investigate the relevance of the writings of the French philosopher Henri Bergson for an understanding of the fauvist and cubist movements in France before World War I. By interrelating two movements that, on the basis of stylistic analysis, are traditionally opposed, I elucidate their shared aesthetic roots and the relation these two movements have to the critique of theories of originality developed by current art historians and philosophers. In the process the profound impact of Bergson on early modernism in Europe is revealed, both in its philosophical and, more surprisingly, social implications.

Chapter one illustrates the degree to which Gleizes and Metzinger's book *Du Cubisme* (1912) represented the definitive formulation of a Bergsonian theory of cubism. In particular I prove that these two cubists utilized Bergson's literary and artistic theories in a defense of simultaneity in cubist painting. This defense was premised on the interpretation given to Bergson's views by the literary symbolists Jules Romains and Tancrède de Visan. On this basis, the Puteaux cubists justified their usage of *passage*, disparate memory images, multiple viewpoints, and rhythmic structuring as an intuitive rather than intellectual means of self-representation. Concurrently, they rejected single-vanishing-point perspective and any pictorial technique they deem quantitative and thus intellectual. Simultaneity in painting was defended as a qualitative reflection of the durational flux of consciousness. In constructing this dichotomy between intuition and intellect, they were, in fact, echoing a fundamental paradigm in Bergson's philosophy. Gleizes and Metzinger also followed Bergson in regarding simultaneity not only as an aesthetic form conducive to self-representation, but also as a means of provoking an alogical and thus intuitive state of mind in the beholder of a cubist painting. I therefore conclude that their development of a Bergsonian aesthetic culminated in a theory of intersubjectivity, in which simultaneity operated as a catalyst for this experience.

In the second chapter, attention is shifted to a forgotten group of Paris-based fauvists who referred to themselves as rhythmists and founded the journal *Rhythm* (1911–1913) to promote their views. The movement's development over the period from the winter of 1911 to late 1913 is outlined with a focus on the art and art theory of the movement's major protagonist, J.D. Fergusson. I chart his development of a doctrine of intersubjectivity, based on his empathetic reaction to his sitters. It was empathy which, to Fergusson's mind, allowed him to grasp and then represent the psychological rhythms emanating from his own personality and that of his subjects. I then point to Bergson's conclusion that we each possess an internal rhythm unique to us and consider the *Rhythm* critics' adaptation of Bergson's theories to an analysis of fauvism. In fact Fergusson's literary apologists substitute the word intuition for Fergusson's more general conception of empathy, and in so doing develop a model of intersubjectivity with rhythm rather than simultaneity as the alogical means of provoking this experience.

A synchronic analysis of these movements follows. Initially, I turn to the critics associated with *Rhythm*, to evaluate their formulation of a Bergsonian theory of fauvism, then consider it in tandem with the Bergsonian tenets of cubism analyzed above. As a result a number of shared paradigms are elucidated. *Du Cubisme*'s authors and the *Rhythm* critics both counsel artists to avoid artistic conventions they regard as logical and call for a reliance on intuition when expressing the self. They are in agreement that logical and quantitative analyses are inapplicable to qualitative sensations. It will be shown, however, that no such consensus occurs with respect to rhythm. Rhythm for Gleizes and Metzinger is a means of evoking an alogical self for the beholder: but for the rhythmists it is more than a means to an end, since it is essential to duration in the world as well as in the self. In their view rhythm both expresses the self and the cosmic force animating all life forms, a theory clearly at odds with Gleizes and Metzinger's supposition that rhythm is simply an indirect means of suggesting a self that remains ineffable.

The interrelation of these two movements is then considered from the perspective of their social theories. I explicate for the first time the Puteaux cubists' attempt to counter attacks on modernism by the political right wing in France. Through an analysis of the writings of Gleizes, the cubist Le Fauconnier, and their literary allies Joseph Billiet and Henri Barzun, the Puteaux cubists' formulation of a Bergsonian theory of classicism is charted. This theory was designed to counter the definition of classicism developed by right-wing members of the powerful royalist organization Action Française. The latter related classicism to Cartesian philosophy: in response, the cubist circle condemned Cartesianism as intellectual, and redefined classicism in terms of Bergson's theory of artistic creation. This model, which saw the artist as a personification of the Bergsonian *élan vital*'s drive toward creative evolution, was taken up separately by the rhythmists in their own social theory of art. In both cases, Bergson's followers disparage the Action Française's belief that artists and writers should adhere to the poetic and pictorial techniques of the seventeenth century. According to the cubists and fauvists, the anonymity of such techniques assures that they are a hindrance to individual expression, and therefore of intellectual rather than intuitive import.

By considering the cubists' and fauvists' formal language in light of this research I explore their thoroughly contradictory attempt to reconcile creative individualism and creative evolution, thereby broadening our knowledge of the historical debate over originality in modernist criticism.

[Yale University]

Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellow, 1988–1990

DAVID BINDMAN

Louis François Roubiliac: Sculpture and Society in Eighteenth-Century London

Before I arrived at the Center my project was well advanced in some areas, but in the four months spent here much was consolidated and new inquiries were opened. Of the many problems presented by Roubiliac's career, I can report progress on the question of his Freemasonry—which may have led him to England from France in the first place—through work at the Masonic Library of the Scottish Rite in Washington and at the Lewis Walpole Library in Farmington, Connecticut. My approach has been to look at Roubiliac's career as a series of complex negotiations within a society in which a new urban culture was emerging. Sculptors in his time were less able to achieve success by relying on the traditional patronage system, and it is an argument of the study that Roubiliac succeeded uniquely well in adapting to the new possibilities. This is evident not only in the dramatic, eye-catching elements of his public work, but in his exploitation of the mechanisms of publicity available to him in the form of exhibitions, “puffs” in newspapers and periodicals, and by the use of networks to which many of his commissions can be traced. One can see also in Roubiliac's career a concern to present himself as an artist rather than a



Louis François Roubiliac. *David Garrick as William Shakespeare*, 1757
Folger Shakespeare Library

“statuary,” and his concern with sculpture as a creative activity draws him closer to practitioners in other arts, such as Hogarth and David Garrick. It was particularly fortuitous, therefore, that I was able to identify in the Folger Library an important terra-cotta model for the Shakespeare statue commissioned by Garrick, which had been lost to sculpture scholarship since the 1920s.

The second part of the project moves outward from Roubiliac’s career to consider the response to his work and its position in such public spaces as Westminster Abbey, Vauxhall Gardens, and the exhibitions of the Society of Artists. This section will require further work on sources in London. The following chapters concern the figural tomb and ways of reading it in the period, taking into account all its elements including the epitaph. Lavish tombs often drew heated complaints and were frequently satirized in the period, as expressing the vanity and worldly ambition of the deceased’s family. Roubiliac’s work in Westminster Abbey was a particular focus of this debate, because many of his most elaborate tombs were easily stigmatized as a form of conspicuous consumption by those whose lives were unworthy, either by rank or merit, of celebration.

The figural tomb of the type in which Roubiliac specialized is analyzed as a series of fictions, both temporal and spatial. In many of the tombs figures mourn over the tomb itself or adorn it, acting as a bridge between the world of the spectator and the fictive world of the tomb. These fictions are often based on traditional iconography, and Roubiliac provides a useful focus for drawing out the contemporary debate on the intelligibility of tomb imagery: should the figures on a tomb be doing something recognizable or should the tomb be organized primarily according to principles of order and harmony? The focus of this debate was the reclining figure, and sculptors such as Roubiliac tried where appropriate to set it into a coherent narrative framework.

In the course of my fellowship I was also able to consolidate and extend my study of the theological context of Roubiliac’s tombs, especially on the problem of Evangelical and Methodist influence on the later tombs. This was the subject of my colloquium at the Center, and I am particularly grateful for the many helpful comments made there. One further chapter is taking shape on ideas of theatricality in Roubiliac’s later tombs.

University College London
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1990

Mantegna Studies

The four essays that comprise my dissertation on Mantegna are concerned in various ways with defining the artist's reputation in the Renaissance—how his art was perceived and judged by the largely humanist and courtly audience for which it was made, and also how Mantegna himself projected through his paintings a specific artistic “ethos.” Such a study seems a profitable way to open to scrutiny the longstanding characterization of Mantegna as a “humanist painter”; not only does a great deal of Renaissance literature about the artist and his work survive, but Mantegna's work is full of elements that call attention to its own status as artifice and to the implied presence of its maker. During the year of my fellowship, I have been able to complete substantial sections of a first draft of the dissertation, and to continue my research on individual works and the sources for the Renaissance discourse on artists and artistic creation.

The first essay is a careful reading of the “art critical” response (often in the form, or context, of poems) to Mantegna's paintings by fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century writers—and specifically of the frequent references to the concepts of *fantasia*, *ingegno*, and *invenzione*. I analyze this language in relation to the larger body of quattrocento and early cinquecento humanist art criticism—perhaps most importantly, in relation to L. B. Alberti's *De pictura*. Art historians have long pointed out the kinship between Mantegna's works and Alberti's precepts. While acknowledging these connections (for example, Mantegna's use of compositional *varietas*, his clear depiction of *affectiones*), I argue that features identified as hallmarks of Mantegna's style—such as the displays of *ingenium* and difficulty—can be read as a polemic with certain of Alberti's key precepts. During the past year, the classical and Renaissance distinctions between rhetoric and poetry have emerged as increasingly important for my understanding of both Alberti's treatise and the literature on Mantegna. The discussion of license and decorum, and of the relation of *ingenium* and invention to *ars* provided the models for the Renaissance discourse on the status of the artist and the limits placed on, or the freedom afforded, him.

The second essay explores the “iconography” of Mantegna's self-portrait images—how they might be read collectively as the codified image of a specific artistic personality. In particular, I am examining the colossal head (now destroyed) on the arch framing the Ovetari Chapel, a leaf mask hidden in the decorative foliage of a painted pilaster in the Camera degli Sposi, and the laureate bronze bust in the artist's funerary chapel in San Andrea, Mantua. Since two of these images are *parerga*, or marginal ornaments, rather than portraits proper, a major part of my work has involved a historical investigation of how artists included, or referred to, themselves in their works.

The third study concerns “imaged nature” in Mantegna's paintings. This phenomenon is in fact rather common in his oeuvre; in addition to “figured” clouds (seen, for instance, in the Vienna *St. Sebastian*, the Oculus of the Camera degli Sposi, and the Louvre *Expulsion of the Vices*), one finds suggestively rendered geological formations in such paintings as the Uffizi *Adoration of the*

Magi. Building on earlier studies of the classical and Renaissance literary sources for “images in the clouds” (where they are generally used to exemplify either the concept of chance or all-bearing nature as a generator of appearances, or the power of the individual’s imagination in projecting images onto random patterns), I am concerned with integrating their general significance with their more local meaning in individual paintings. For example, in the *St. Sebastian* (where a horse and rider emerge from the clouds), I ask what light an emblem of fantasy and nature might shed on a Christian *historia* littered with the manmade fragments of antique culture. In my work on this image, I have been exploring the relation of the psychological faculty of *fantasia* to the literary and artistic categories of invention and disposition, and the relation of both of these to the humanist ruminations on the loss, and recovery, of the classical past.

The final study addresses what has been termed Mantegna’s “sculptural style” through the rhetorical and poetic models made current by the humanists. Although from Vasari forward the peculiar hardness—the almost engraved quality—that marks Mantegna’s forms has been treated as a stylistic defect, something the artist partially overcame in his late works, I argue that it is equally fruitful to explore this trait as a positive choice within the range of stylistic possibilities open to him. My research has been aimed at pinpointing the critical contexts in which it would have been understood as such. I have examined, for instance, the discussion of *durus* as a stylistic term in ancient and Renaissance literature in relation to the visual arts and eloquence. In the sources on poetry and rhetoric, for example, it is used to characterize both epic and grand style, and is presented as an alternative to the *mollis* or *suavis* style. I also discuss Mantegna’s *durezza* in relation to the Renaissance *paragone*, or comparison, between the arts of painting and sculpture. Within this context, Mantegna’s “hardness” may be seen as a playful alternative—a sort of visual punning that links the different arts while giving painting the upper hand. This final study is structured around a group of works that marks out the course of Mantegna’s career—from the *St. Zeno Altarpiece* (an early work that models itself on, and rivals, Donatello’s Paduan altar) to a late group of feigned sculptural reliefs, such as the London National Gallery’s *Introduction of the Cult of Cybele in Rome*.

[University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]
Chester Dale Predoctoral Fellow, 1989–1990

MILTON W. BROWN

Prendergast; Readings in the New Art History

For some time we have all been aware of new developments in art history arising from linguistic studies that were being adopted by younger scholars in the field; in passing, I had found this work difficult, often obscure, and sometimes incomprehensible. It was all perhaps a fleeting fancy, the fashion of the times, a foreign incursion into a hallowed field. But experience led me to be wary of snap judgments about changing ideas and to assume that those involved were as seriously concerned with art history as I, and I thought it would be a good idea to do some systematic reading in what seemed to be related fields—structuralism, semiotics, and deconstructionism. It was interesting that the younger fellows at the Center for Advanced Study were aware of such developments and even suggested an informal study group, which met several times. My research assistant, Marc Gotlieb, proved to be deeply involved in the “new art history” and rather critical of the “old,” and provided me with an excellent bibliography on the subject; the library acquired all the volumes in paperback.

Unfortunately, I did not have as much time to read at the beginning of my tenure as later, being suddenly faced with proofs of the *Catalogue Raisonné* of the work of Maurice Brazil Prendergast and Charles Prendergast, for which I had served as senior fellow for some years and which has just been published. In addition I completed two essays: “The Armory Show Aftermath” for *Beginnings: The Cultural Moment, 1915* (edited by Lois Rudnick and Adele Heller, to be published by Rutgers University Press), which reviews the influence of modernism on American painting in the decade following the Armory Show; and “Paul Strand: The Three Roads,” dealing with Strand’s



Maurice Brazil Prendergast,
Salem Cove, 1916
National Gallery of Art,
Washington, Collection of
Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

contributions to photography, for a volume to commemorate the centennial of Strand's birth (to be published by Aperture). Somehow, despite reading two dissertations and a manuscript under consideration by a publisher, I did get around to reading essays by Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Robert Searle, Svetlana Alpers, Norman Bryson, Yve-Alain Bois, Donald Preziosi, Meyer Schapiro, Walter Benjamin, Harry Rand, and Jonathan Brown. I did not delve as deeply into the subject as I had hoped, but I do expect to continue.

As of now, I do not understand the drive among art historians to revise the discipline in the image of linguistics. Through the dense jargon of new "scientific" terminology, I can perceive that the linguists are trying to develop a theory of language and grapple with the problem of meaning. In the process, they seem to have decided that it is language that distinguishes humanity and is fundamental to thought—"In the beginning was the word." Without launching a full-scale debate over the primacy of language, I would suggest that visual communication exists quite independently of verbal communication. I would add that there are still other sensory modes of communication that have hardly been defined as yet (touch and taste?) and, of course there is music, which to a great extent defies verbal interpretation. After admitting that discussion of any of the arts is dependent on language, I suggest that the inherent nature and limitations of any of them calls for separate and specific analytical imperatives. Adaptive uses of advances in linguistics are welcome, but the wholesale transference of a specialized vocabulary seems to me counter-productive. In those cases where I could fight my way through a screen of gratuitous verbiage, I sometimes found acceptable art history, but nothing exceptionally innovative due to a new methodology. In other cases the result was trivial and not worth the effort, or the methodology and vocabulary were simply impenetrable. At this point in my education I find the linguistic impact on art history unimpressive. I think the greatest impact and most successful efforts have been in the field of cultural criticism, rather than the arts and especially the visual arts, though the linguisticists paradoxically seem attracted to them.

City University of New York, Graduate School and University Center
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1989–1990

JANET COX-REARICK

Studies in the Art of Agnolo Bronzino (1503–1572)

During my tenure at the Center for Advanced Study I worked on planning an exhibition on Bronzino (now scheduled for 1993 in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence), which I am co-curating with Craig Hugh Smyth and Robert Gaston. I reviewed Bronzino's oeuvre and the literature on his art, then drew up working lists of the paintings and drawings for inclusion in the exhibition. These were the basis for numerous planning conferences with Gaston, also a fellow, and Smyth. Beyond taking advantage of the National Gallery's library and photographic archives for this research, I was able to study in the conservation laboratory the three paintings attributed to Bronzino in the collection of the National Gallery (*Holy Family*, *A Young Woman and Her Little Boy*, and *Eleonora di Toledo*), and to discuss them with the Gallery's conservators.

The second project that occupied me was the portion of Bronzino's oeuvre that is my responsibility in the exhibition catalogue. This is roughly the work of the 1540s, the central period of Bronzino's career when he was most active in the service of Duke Cosimo de' Medici and as portraitist to the Florentine aristocracy. In this connection I completed a book manuscript, *Bronzino's Chapel for Eleonora di Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio (1540–1545)*, which has been submitted for publication.



Agnolo Bronzino, *Eleonora di Toledo*, c. 1560
National Gallery of Art,
Washington,
Samuel H. Kress Collection

The major work of Bronzino's career and of the 1540s (along with his *Story of Joseph* tapestries, which I also am studying in depth) is the Chapel of Eleonora. It is the locus of the emerging personal imagery of its patron, Cosimo de' Medici, and its decorations adumbrate many of the "metaphors of rule" which would be programmatically developed later in the duke's more overtly propagandistic art. The content and scope of my study can be outlined briefly as follows: the first part, "La Capella di Eleonora: The Chapel and Its Patroness," presents the documentary evidence (payments, letters, accounts, and so on) for the chronology of the decoration and its subsequent history. It also sets the stage for discussion of the chapel in the context of Medicean patronage. Cosimo de' Medici, whose biography is well known, is introduced and the chapel's less familiar patroness, Eleonora di Toledo (including Bronzino's portraits of her), is discussed at greater length. The next section, "Bronzino's Paintings in the Chapel," concerns the preparatory drawings as well as the paintings from the point of view of their style. Their place in Bronzino's oeuvre in relation to his stylistic sources and to contemporary writings about art are considered, and the paintings are located in the context of the art of the Florentine Maniera, particularly that of Bronzino's contemporaries Bandinelli, Pontormo, and Salviati. The third section is an investigation of the complex devotional program of the chapel, a chapel of the Sacrament with a strong Franciscan component. Bronzino's frescoes of Old and New Testament subjects are shown to be related to these themes, and the subject of one of the Moses frescoes is redefined. Last, in "La Cappella del Principe: The Medicean Meaning of the Chapel Decoration," the political imagery of the chapel is presented against the background of the Medicean symbolism and propaganda of Cosimo's early art. Although the chapel was intended for the use of Eleonora, its imagery celebrates the political ascendancy of the duke, his union with Eleonora, and the future of the Medici dynasty. An appendix of documents consists of transcriptions of letters, accounts, and inventories (mostly unpublished) related to the history of the chapel.

As a result of my work on Bronzino, I also completed for publication a substantial, documented study, *Bronzino's Portraits of Eleonora di Toledo*, as well as a draft of an article on two newly discovered Bronzino drawings in the Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre (the latter to appear in *Revue du Louvre*).

City University of New York, Hunter College and Graduate School and
University Center
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, fall 1989

Picturing Palestine: The Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture

The concept of Zion has long functioned as a potent and synoptic metaphor for the North American continent and its possibilities as a New World promised land. The privileged place of the Holy Land within the early American Protestant imagination was reinforced by years of exposure to hymns, sermons, and public orations in which specific biblical place names were passionately invoked as paradigms and equivalents of national aspirations and localities. The American fascination with the Holy Land can only be understood in light of these affective ties established during the colonial era between the European immigrants and the biblical nation of Israelites. Seeing themselves as a beleaguered but righteous minority, the colonists looked to the covenant people of the Old Testament as a type for their own status as a favored nation. The comparisons remained current in the nineteenth century and were reinforced by the new possibility of actual travel in Ottoman Palestine.

My dissertation explores the ways in which the American tradition of looking to the landscape for affirmation of faith prompted and significantly affected depictions of the Holy Land terrain, particularly those of religiously important sites. To American eyes, God had always been present in the landscape, and for those properly schooled in the tenets of nationalist nature worship, the experience of the land was an unending series of sacred revelations—that Mircea Eliade terms “hierophanies.” A consideration of the visual culture surrounding the Holy Land, then, along with its public use and reception, sheds light on American self-definitions and values as well as the nation’s perceived relationship with powers in Europe and the Middle East. The religious and nationalist views that shaped these ideas also helped shape the acts of picturing the landscape of the Holy Land, understanding the events which took place there, and relating them to the experience of the devout nineteenth-century American.

With the exception of Frederic E. Church, the group of American artists who made the landscape of the Holy Land a subject during the nineteenth century are little known. Yet works by these artists—Miner Kilbourne Kellogg, Edward Troye, James Fairman—were widely exhibited and purchased in their day. The cultural backgrounds and motives of the painters varied greatly. Their experiences with the topography of Palestine, Syria, and Sinaitic Egypt were informed by individual commitments or links to a diverse list of religious, scientific, and political movements. What they shared, though, was an awareness of the great possibilities for public consumption inherent in their subject matter. Like the hundreds of missionaries, explorers, travel writers, and capitalists who exploited the American thirst for information of the Holy Land, they saw that their images were promoted and made available to as large an audience as possible.

During my residence at the Center for Advanced Study, I have explored the surprisingly extensive phenomenon of “popular” representations of the landscape of the Holy Land: moving and stationary panoramas, cosmoramas,

dioramas, and models. Scores of such depictions were shown theatrically on multicity tours in all corners of the United States, and certain techniques of exhibiting, publicizing, and interpreting these forms of entertainment and edification were established early in the century. It became clear that their promoters had discovered and exploited a specific cultural “market” for knowledge of the holy terrain, a lesson not lost on later painters of easel-format views of the Holy Land who sought to bring their work before the public. Artists excluded from the academic art establishment—among them Kellogg, Troye, and Fairman—could transcend their marginality within the art world by employing “popular” methods to isolate and cultivate their public and shape its understanding of their work. For paintings of the Holy Land, these included descriptive pamphlets, lectures, engraved keys, testimonials of accuracy from clergy and former pilgrims to Palestine, discounts to Sunday school classes, and elaborate installations.

With the cultural base for popular interest in the Holy Land established, my dissertation ends with separate considerations of the painters who are most associated with the imagery. In part, this is accomplished through a close look at the religious beliefs of each artist. For example, Kellogg’s upbringing in the Swedenborgian church—where the doctrine of “correspondences” sees an internal, spiritual meaning for all material objects and natural phenomena—greatly informed his attitudes and responses to Sinai and Palestine. Church’s more rational, Puritan-derived faith led him to seek refuge in the science of sacred geography, using archaeology, geology, and a meticulous painting style to prove the validity of the scriptures.

Also important are the circumstances by which believers viewed the works of art. Troye’s series of five Holy Land paintings was ultimately hung in the hall at Bethany College, West Virginia, where the influential divine, Alexander Campbell, gave his lectures on empirical theology. This founder of the Disciples of Christ taught that faith must be dependent on the reports of others and that primacy must be given to observational methods. Troye’s paintings served as the perfect visual corollary for these precepts. The educational role of landscape views of the Holy Land is also clear in the work of Fairman. His many depictions of sacred places were destined for such religious institutions as Olivet College, Michigan, and the Baptist Theological Seminary, Illinois. In addition, Fairman’s large body of extant works, many with strategically placed Muslim figures, along with surviving records of their sales, provides an opportunity to study both the patronage of his specialized subject matter and the issue of contemporary attitudes toward Islamic cultures of the Fertile Crescent.

[Columbia University]
Wyeth Predoctoral Fellow, 1988–1990

JOHN STEPHEN GAGE

The Optical and Theoretical Background to American Color-Field Painting

The primary object of my brief stay at the Center for Advanced Study was to document and analyze presuppositions about the nature and behavior of color implicit in color-field painting of the 1950s and 1960s, especially in New York and Washington. This material is to form the concluding section in a study of the role of color in Western societies from antiquity until the present, in which I relate the interests of painters to the wider understanding of color in various periods. To conclude here seemed especially appropriate since several proponents of color-field painting have argued that it finally freed color from form; and the most sophisticated (and most beautiful) modern treatment of the phenomenology of color, Josef Albers' *Interaction of Color* (1963) was based on work carried out with painting students at Black Mountain College, one of whom, Kenneth Noland, became a leading Washington color-field artist. A second consideration was to be the antitheoretical stance of Albers' book, and the general distaste for theory among this group of painters, a distaste sometimes reflected in their minimal titles and the opacity of their meager verbal comments, characteristically pried from them in the form of interviews for exhibition catalogues or periodical articles. A final area of research was to be the role of materials, old and new, in the attitudes these painters expressed toward color as well as the effect of materials on their paintings.

All these lines of approach were amply rewarded in the extensive literature I was able to gather from the libraries at the National Gallery of Art and elsewhere in Washington, as well as in the rich visual material I found in Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, and on a short trip to Chicago. I was able to document the survival of the color-versus-form argument not only in Albers, Noland, and Morris Louis, but also, and more surprisingly, in the Washington painter Gene Davis, who characterized his stripes as a "simple matrix to hold the color." This "neutralist" view of the motif, also articulated in England by Patrick Heron, is so at odds with the phenomenology of colored stripes (which was well known to Davis and other painters) that it must be seen as part of a rejection of theory, and of painting as a means of cognition—the second strand of my project. It became increasingly clear that negation carried a positive value in the 1950s and that, for example, the frequent use of black monochrome—most obviously in Ad Reinhardt—was part of a self-conscious program of "emptying." Although it so far has proved possible to document an interest in non-Western aesthetics only in Reinhardt, Jackson Pollock, and Franz Kline, this negation of "color" can surely be related to elements in traditional Japanese thought and practice, and as such is the most recent phase in the recurrent Western inclination to regard oriental artists as arbiters of color.

American attitudes to materials are one of the least-explored facets of modern painting, although most writers on color-field painting have alluded to the role of acrylics in the developing stain techniques of Helen Frankenthaler and Louis. Through the kind intervention of Milton Brown, I was able to locate

an unpublished interview with the New York paint manufacturer Leonard Bocour in the Archives of American Art. Bocour developed synthetic pigments and media in close consultation with several of my artists, and his reminiscences have helped to illumine a most interesting aspect of their work. It is clear that in the 1950s and 1960s technical considerations were no longer merely esoteric studio matters, but became essential to the general understanding of painting. I was also able to tap the growing body of conservation material on the negative effects of technical experimentation, notably in the late work of Rothko. This concern with materials and experimentation is one of the most traditional features of modern American painting.

Although my time at the Center for Advanced Study was amply filled with this primary area of research, the Center's resources allowed me to fill some of the other bibliographical gaps in my study of color. It was particularly fortunate that my stay coincided with the exhibitions of Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* and *Matisse in Morocco* at the National Gallery; and I made much use of the unusual accessibility of works by Poussin and Cézanne in the permanent collection.

Cambridge University
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1990

ROBERT W. GASTON

Aspects of the Art of Agnolo Bronzino (1503–1572)

The fellowship afforded an opportunity to advance my knowledge of the works of Bronzino in several important respects. I needed access to a first-rate library of art history to review current scholarship on the paintings and drawings, and to search for relevant visual sources in sixteenth-century European art. The National Gallery's collection of auction catalogues made the tracing of modern provenance an easy task, and the photographic collection provided many important new leads in comparative iconography and stylistic matters. Access to the Gallery's own collection of pictures, including those of Bronzino, led to much useful reflection about the technical properties of sixteenth-century panels. The curators and conservators shared invaluable information from their files, and allowed close examination of pictures under optimal laboratory conditions. Being based within an institution which itself was concerned with producing exhibitions and scholarly catalogues helped to shape my understanding of the practical requirements of the forthcoming exhibition project to which my current research will belong.

It was also my intention to explore the rare book holdings of the Library of Congress and the Folger Shakespeare Library, with a view to gaining a clearer understanding of the range of contemporary literature available to Bronzino. Pursuing this hypothesis proved more fruitful than expected, and I was able to



Agnolo Bronzino, *A Young Woman and Her Little Boy*, c. 1540
National Gallery of Art,
Washington,
Widener Collection

collect literary sources that throw new light on several of Bronzino's paintings. These specific instances of progress in research were satisfying in themselves. But the deeper personal significance of my fellowship is not so easily expressed. To be able to come from the relative isolation of my Australian department to share in the front-line research of the fellows and staff in their seminars and private discussions, was a catalyst to my thinking. Many of the other fellows enriched my comprehension of my project, but also of the visual arts in a larger sense.

La Trobe University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, fall 1989

The Superstructure of the Mausolleion at Halikarnassos

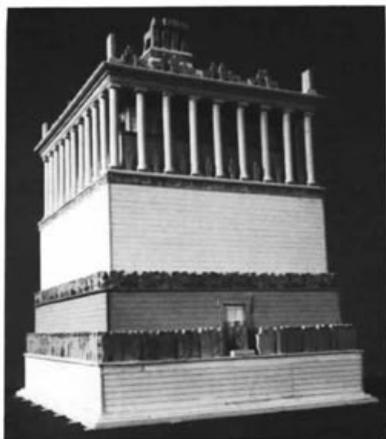
During the year my efforts have been concentrated on the last item specified in the title of the fourth volume of the Halikarnassos publication currently under preparation: *The Site of the Sepulchral Monument, Its Foundations, Tomb Chamber, and Superstructure*. While the first part of the book will deal with earthbound finds presenting problems of the kind classical archaeologists are accustomed to handling, the reconstruction of the superstructure must combine different types of evidence found in different fields of research. The fragments of the various parts that survive, architectural as well as sculptural, must be shown to fit into a framework that is compatible with the measurements given in ancient Greek and Latin written sources. Moreover, these dimensions must be shown to tally with the particular foot unit that was used at the planning and erection of the building, the size of which is statistically derivable from the range of stock measurements represented by the fragments.

Attempts at a reconstruction of the Mausolleion have appeared frequently since the Renaissance, and quite understandably there is considerable scepticism as to whether the last word in this matter will ever be said. It probably will not; however, the new publication will offer a much wider and safer basis for speculations than hitherto has been available. Above all, it provides a complete catalogue raisonné of all the architectural fragments known at present: first, those relatively few in the possession of the British Museum, which were previously the only specimens available for study and which have never been properly published except in extracts; second, the thousands of fragments that were left by the British excavators on the site, which have only recently been recovered from oblivion; third, those still immured in the walls of the Castle of St. Peter in Bodrum, where new discoveries have been made as recently as in 1989; and fourth, those currently being identified in other parts of the Mediterranean such as Kos and Rhodes, which had been shipped as ballast.

The identifiable pieces, which amount to nearly two thousand, can now be assigned to fifty-nine well-defined courses relatable to various architecturally important sections between the foot and the top of the monument. For some courses there survive only a few fragments (less than ten), while for others there are hundreds. Fragile members of delicate craftsmanship of course were much more exposed to fracture than solid ashlar.

It is a popular mistake to assume that architectural fragments from one and the same horizontal sequence of blocks are mere repetitions of one another. Admittedly, they share a number of common features such as material, surface treatment, height, and profile in cross section; but usually they vary in length, and the metal dowels with which they were fastened were individually placed to fit corresponding technicalities in the courses above and below. The latter details therefore may prove useful in providing clues to a piecemeal reconstruction of the building.

Among other subtleties suggestive of the original position of a given fragment is the inclination of its visible face measured in relation to its horizontal



Author's model for the reconstruction of the Mausoleion at Halikarnassos, c. 1985
Photograph by Thomas Pedersen

top or bed: in some parts of the building, the facade was perpendicular, while in others it was tilted more or less inward toward its center; or, conversely, even a little outward. Yet another criterion is corrosion. When the Mausoleion was demolished, it had been standing for almost two thousand years and had suffered the impact of as many hot summers and furious winter storms. The sun never would have shone on the north side, so it and the west side would have been less exposed than the other sides to the southeast wind prevailing in winter. So far, the study of weathering has resulted in one important conclusion: contrary to what might be anticipated, the soffit of the colonnade was by no means sheltered but was almost as much exposed to corrosion as external parts of the building (due, presumably, to the thrust of the wind); and the "imprints" of corrosion that can be observed have proved important for the reconstruction of the complicated coffers. The material itself is also distinctive as a criterion: two types of dark limestone and at least three qualities of white marble.

The work on the catalogue raisonné accomplished during my stay includes a detailed study of the more than fifty column drums that provide the available basis for the reconstruction of the column height, one of the most important dimensions of the building. Thus, by the accretion of facts, several uncertainties have been systematically eliminated or curtailed, and a clearer, more complete picture is emerging of the building in its entirety.

The atmosphere of the Center for Advanced Study also has inspired me to complete other projects on which I have been working since the 1960s. The last proofs were read of my volume on Hellenistic architecture on the island of Ikaros in the Persian Gulf: *The Sacred Enclosure in the Early Hellenistic Period*, which appeared in April; and the preliminary draft for a paper dealing with the interpretation of the Parthenon frieze ("The Parthenon Frieze, an Alternative Interpretation: Ion Instituting the Anarrhysis of the Apatouria on the Akropolis of Athens, and Eurysakes and Philaios from Salamis Applying for Athenian Citizenship") was finished and submitted for publication.

University of Århus
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1989–1990

Mondrian's Two-Dimensionality: A Specific Feature of Dutch Art?

I used my fellowship to research literature on seventeenth-century Dutch art, particularly landscape painting, in order to confirm my impression that there exists a fundamental dualism in Dutch art.

That idea occurred to me when I began to seek an explanation for the absolute two-dimensionality of Mondrian's work and the substantially two-dimensional character of Dutch symbolism and Dutch art nouveau. A seemingly coincidental resemblance between a detail in a painting by Gabriel Metsu and Mondrian's *Composition with Color Planes* led me to look closer at seventeenth-century Dutch art, both in relation to seventeenth-century-Flemish and other European art. The dualism that I hope to demonstrate as a historic characteristic of Dutch art is expressed on the one hand by extreme realism, particularly in the description of objects, and on the other hand by a minimalization, drastic in the case of Mondrian, of tangibly spatial three-dimensionality. The result is a two-dimensional interplay of objects rendered in such a true-to-life manner that the actual description of objects gives way to their plastic function, which may or may not be open to emblematic interpretation.

In his study of Van Ruisdael's *The Mill at Wijk bij Duurstede*, Hans Kauffmann shows how the artist's compositional strategies promote an emblematic interpretation of the painting's subject matter beyond its precise topographic designation. He also shows that such compositional strategies transform the landscape into a two-dimensional, formal interplay of its elements.

No less persuasive is the related analysis by Arthur Wheelock and C.J. Kaldenbach of Vermeer's *View of Delft*. They point to nine topographical deviations that create a reduction in the painting's depth, flattening irregularly protruding objects and reorienting horizontals, verticals, and diagonals so that the image runs parallel to the picture plane. These scholars noted the inherent contradiction such strategies presented to traditional notions of realism.

The restrained and blocked depth that Wheelock and Kaldenbach acknowledge was actually discerned quite some time ago by Heinrich Wölfflin in his comparative study *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst* (1915). In trying to account for the evolution from sixteenth-century "Flächenhafte" to seventeenth-century "Tiefenhafte," Wölfflin struggles to account for the contradictory example of seventeenth-century Dutch art: its flatness resists his attempt to fit Dutch painting into a larger European tendency toward "measurable depth effect."

This brings us to Mondrian. In order to explain the flat, two-dimensional character of the new art, Mondrian stated in 1943 that "in painting three-dimensional space has to be reduced to two-dimensional appearance. This is necessary, not only to conform to the canvas, but to destroy the natural expression of forms and space." Nevertheless the destruction of form and space as such was not Mondrian's ultimate aim: that kind of destruction also took place in cubism. But since cubism aimed "to express volume," it was doomed to remain naturalistic. Mondrian's abstract art, on the other hand, "attempts

to destroy the corporeal expression of volume” in order to be “a reflection of the universal aspect of reality.” As the above remarks suggest, did not Mondrian’s seventeenth-century predecessors already strive toward this same kind of destruction, despite all perspectival doctrines?

The question that arises therefore is the extent to which such examples are indeed typical of Dutch seventeenth-century painting. And there still remains the question of whether flatness and two-dimensionality are characteristic of *all* Dutch painting. My time at the Center for Advanced Study and access to the library of the National Gallery of Art have been of great benefit to my research on the sources of Mondrian’s interest in two-dimensional compositions of rectangular planes and lines set at right angles. In this short time I was able to conduct an extensive search of the relevant literature; in addition, the collections of the National Gallery gave me the opportunity to carry out comparative research on the works of art themselves.

Stedelijk Museum

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1989

A Late Antique Ivory Diptych

One of the masterpieces of the luxury arts of late antiquity is an ivory diptych whose plaques bear the inscriptions *Nicomachorum*, *Symmachorum*. The diptych was preserved intact through the Middle Ages in the treasury of the Benedictine monastery of Montier-en-Der, but it was dismantled in the wake of the French Revolution. *Nicomachorum* is now in the Cluny Museum in Paris, and *Symmachorum* is in London in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The diptych is generally said to have commemorated a marriage (because of the two family names in the genitive plural), and to depict “a priestess of Ceres at an altar of Cybele” and “a priestess of Bacchus at an altar of Jupiter.” As so often with familiar objects, this basic description proves to be untrue.

When I began my fellowship year I already knew that the figure on *Nicomachorum* was based on a statue type that appears on Athenian coins of the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, on a Roman sarcophagus with Eleusinian iconography (the “Torre Nova sarcophagus”), and on taurobolium altars set up in Athens in the latter part of the fourth century C.E. The original statue represented Kore, or Persephone, and seems to have been associated with rites of the Eleusinian Mysteries. My hypothesis was that the diptych commemorated an initiation of one or more members of the families named, and was kept by them as a souvenir or given to the cult center as a votive gift. The plan for the year was to do the research necessary to verify this hypothesis, and to investigate the meaning of Eleusinian initiation for members of the Roman senatorial aristocracy in the late fourth century.

Research on the Mysteries proved to be more difficult than I anticipated. There is the inherent obstacle that the rites were rigorously secret, and can be reconstructed only from indirect allusions, sacrilegious witnesses (Christians), and tiny clues left randomly over a period of one thousand years. As a consequence the secondary literature is very speculative, based extensively on Byzantine scholia, and is characterized by a willingness to integrate disparate ancient sources (ranging from Attic comedies to Hadrianic inscriptions to late antique rhetors) as if they all referred to a constant, static cult. This seemed implausible to me, and by considering the sources in their proper chronological sequence I think I have been able to give a more accurate interpretation of the intermediate images of the Kore, especially on the Torre Nova sarcophagus. For the diptych, however, this research proved less relevant than I expected.

I had to confront the problem that an occasion of Eleusinian initiation does not explain all of the diptych’s salient details, including the two family names, and Bacchic motifs such as the ivy garlands and the maenadic bared breast of the woman on *Nicomachorum*. The mantle knotted on the latter’s hips is characteristic of the imagery of Roman mystery cults, for example on the stuccoed ceiling of the villa near the Farnesina, and the bared breast is not only Bacchic, but also occurs in Roman representations of the searching Ceres, to denote her frantic grief. Thus the figure on *Nicomachorum* is neither a faithful replica of the presumed Athenian prototype (insofar as the latter can be reconstructed from the known images), nor an image straightforwardly read

as Kore (Roman Proserpina). To a Roman viewer unaware of the Athenian source, she may have looked like Ceres with Bacchic attributes, a combination appropriate to the Roman cult of Ceres, Liber (corresponding to Bacchus), and Libera (corresponding to Proserpina). The Eleusinian allusion is another, cryptic level of meaning, accessible to initiates who would have seen the statue in Athens.

The figure on *Symmachorum* is very similar to the personification of Pietas that appears on coins and medals of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. Since several other ivory diptychs also show imagery from Roman coins, I believe that *Symmachorum* actually was modeled on the numismatic type. This is public religious imagery from the age of the last great pagan emperors. The juxtaposition of Pietas with a figure of Ceres (or Kore) makes an obvious statement, but it also has more subtle implications. Especially interesting is the confrontation of public, so-called propaganda imagery (the coin type) with details of mystery iconography previously reserved for private homes and tombs.

Iconographically the diptych is appropriate to the Roman festivals of the Cerealia (12–19 April, in honor of Ceres, Liber, and Libera) and the Liberalia (17 March, in honor of Liber and Libera), the day on which boys received the toga of manhood. The inscriptions remain a puzzle. There is no obvious way in which the imagery, or either of the festivals to which it might refer, can be connected with a wedding. However, a recondite allusion, based on Varro's etymological association of Liber and Libera with fertility, is possible. If present it would be yet another layer of cryptic content.

There are two areas in which I think this study has more than monographic significance. One is historical. The diptych has been cited by historians to confirm a notion that the Nicomachi and the Symmachi, in particular, were followers of the old, civic religion and were not seduced by "Oriental" mystic cults. Research on Roman religion indicates that this is a false dichotomy, and the new reading of the diptych suggests an esoteric reference to the ancient Mysteries of Eleusis. The second area is art historical, namely the nature of image-making, imagining, in the late fourth century. My reading of the diptych reveals a deliberate and elaborate process of iconographic accretion, a careful overlay of significant details on an older stratum of imagery which was revived for the purpose. Christian art of the period (for example, the apse mosaic of S. Pudenziana) is already understood to have worked this way, but pagan imagery is generally considered to have been simpler, with only traditional meaning. I propose that pagan iconographers were following the lead of Christian art, seeking to produce new images with significant theological content, further embellished in this case with multiple personal associations.

Bryn Mawr College
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1989–1990, and
Distinguished Professor in the History of Art,
George Washington University

Orcagnas 'Madonna of Humility' in der National Gallery of Art in Washington: Fragen nach Attribution und Ikonographie

Meine Arbeit konzentriert sich auf die Tafel der 'Madonna of Humility,' die in der National Gallery of Art den Brüdern Andrea di Cione, genannt Orcagna, und Jacopo di Cione zugeschrieben wird. Diese Forschung steht im Zusammenhang mit der Vorbereitung einer Monographie über Andrea Orcagna, die 1987/1988 am Harvard Center Villa I Tatti in Florenz begonnen wurde und das gesamte Werk von Orcagna umfassen wird, der als Maler, als Bildhauer und als Architekt zwischen 1343 und 1368 vorwiegend in Florenz tätig war.

Die auf der Tafel dargestellten Figuren von Maria und Kind sind entschieden körperhaft, plastisch artikuliert; durch ein fast blockhaftes Volumen von geschlossenem Umriss schaffen sie Raum um sich herum. Raum wird auch durch den Boden veranschaulicht, und zwar durch das Aufhellen der Farbe von hinten nach vorne, wo der Boden mit einer Kante endet und um eine Stufe abfällt. Spitzen des Gewandsaumes und die Ecke eines Buches reichen noch über diese Schwelle hinweg nach vorne. In einem solchen Detail, das durch Simone Martinis Verkündigungsalter von 1333 (Florenz, Uffizien) angeregt ist, zeigt sich die Aufmerksamkeit die der Maler der Schaffung des Bildraumes widmete. Ein weiteres Moment der Raumkonstitution ist es, dass die Farben der beiden Engelsgruppen und Gottvaters etwas blasser als in der Madonnengruppe gehalten sind, so dass die oben schwebenden Figuren gegenüber den Figuren unten zurücktreten. Durch das Verdecken des Ornamentrandes des Goldgrundes werden Gottvater und Engelsgruppen als über dem Boden im Bildraum schwebend dargestellt.

Die figürliche und die räumliche Konzeption des Bildes schliessen es aus, dass Jacopo di Cione die Tafel gemalt hat. Keines der Werke von Jacopo weist übereinstimmende Auffassungen hinsichtlich Raum und Figur und auch Stil auf—weder der meines Erachtens frühe, in die 1360er Jahre zu datierende Kreuzigungsalter (London, National Gallery) noch der wahrscheinlich ganz von Jacopo entworfene und ausgeführte Matthäusalter von 1368/1369 (Florenz, Uffizien), weder das Marienkrönungspolyptychon aus der Florentiner Kirche San Pier Maggiore von 1370/1371 (London, National Gallery) noch die Marienkrönungstafel der Zecca (Münze) von 1372/1373 (Florenz, Accademia), am wenigsten das späte Verkündigungsfresko im Palazzo dei Priori in Volterra von 1383/1384. Auch die allgemein verbreitete Annahme, dass Jacopo in den Jahren vor Orcagnas Tod 1368 in dessen Werkstatt mit dem älteren Bruder zusammengearbeitet hätte, erweist sich als nicht stichhaltig. Zumindest seit der Mitte der 1360er Jahre ist eine Zusammenarbeit der beiden in einer Werkstatt nicht anzunehmen. Doch gerade in diesen Jahren nach 1365 dürfte die Tafel der Madonna of Humility (Washington, NGA) gemalt worden sein und zwar von Orcagna, denn diese Tafel steht hinsichtlich der künstlerischen Konzeption und des Stils in enger Beziehung zum Pfingsttriptychon aus der Florentiner Kirche SS. Apostoli (Florenz, Accademia), einem Werk von Orcagna aus der Zeit um 1365.

Dass Maria nicht auf einem Thron, sondern auf dem Boden sitzt gibt ihrer Demut berechneten Ausdruck. Erstmals hat Simone Martini diese bildliche For-



Orcagna and Jacopo di Cione,
Madonna and Child with Angels,
c. 1370
National Gallery of Art,
Washington,
Samuel H. Kress Collection

mulierung für Marias *humilitas* im Fresko der Portallünette von Notre Damedes-Domes in Avignon (1340/1343) geprägt, die damit als Devotionsmotiv verselbständigt wurde. Mit der Darstellung der demütigen Madonna ist in Orcagnas Tafel (wie in vielen anderen) das in frühchristliche Zeit zurückgehende Motiv der 'Maria lactans' verbunden, "durch das die Beziehung des Betrachters zu Maria als Mutter intensiviert wird" (van Os).

Das Erscheinen von Gottvater und der Taube des Heiligen Geistes auf Orcagnas Tafel ist fast stets—auch von Meiss und Shorr—übersehen worden. Offner wollte darin eine Illustration der Bibelstelle zur Taufe Christi—"Dies ist mein geliebter Sohn"—sehen, übertragen auf das Christkind bei der Madonna of Humility. Huter hat die Verbindung von Gottvater, Heiligem Geist und Christkind zu deuten versucht als einen der ersten Hinweise auf die Vorstellung auf die Geburt Christi gemäss den "Offenbarungen" der heiligen Birgitta von Schweden. Da die Heilige jene Offenbarungen nicht vor 1372 hatte, meinte Huter (gefolgt von Rusk Shapley), dass Orcagnas Autorschaft an der Tafel oder seine Teilhabe an deren Entwurf damit widerlegt und die Zuschreibung an Jacopo di Cione mit einer Datierung gegen 1380 'vernünftig' sei. Es ist jedoch wenig wahrscheinlich, dass Birgittas Vorstellung von der Christgeburt in Verbindung mit der Trinität ihren ersten Niederschlag in der Abwandlung der Madonna of Humilty gefunden hätte. Vielmehr fragt es sich, aus welchen Quellen die Vorstellung der Heiligen gespeist worden ist. Die Darstellung des Christkinds als zweite Person der Trinität in einem Christgeburtbild ist jedenfalls älter als Birgittas Offenbarungen. Das ungewöhnliche Programm, das ohne einen theologischen Berater undenkbar ist, dürfte—nach Beatson, Muller, Steinhoff—auf den "Meditationes Vitae Christi" basieren. Doch schon Jahrzehnte früher wurde das Christkind als zweite Person der Trinität—soweit ich sehe zum ersten Mal in der toskanischen Kunst—dargestellt, und zwar in dem Madonnenrelief mit der Präsentation von zwei Stiftern, das Tino di Camaino 1301/1306 für das Grabmal des heiligen Raynerius (Pisa, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo) geschaffen hat. In der mittelalterlichen Kunst findet sich das Christkind als zweite Person der göttlichen Dreifaltigkeit in Trinitätsdarstellungen wie der Glasscheibe aus dem Schöpfungsfenster im Chor der Elisabethkirche in Marburg (Universitätsmuseum) von etwa 1240 oder in Madonnendarstellungen wie in der sogenannten Trinität von Winchester (1023–1035); beide Typen gehen auf byzantinische Ursprünge zurück (Schiller; LCI-Allgemeine Ikonographie I). Während die Kombination von Maria mit Kind und Trinität vor 1300 sehr selten anzutreffen ist, fand diese Bildformel in der Madonnen- wie in der Christgeburtsdarstellung im 14. Jahrhundert zunächst in Toskana eine neue Aktualität und—insbesondere seit Orcagnas vielfach kopierter Tafel—eine weite Verbreitung.

Während die Darstellung als Kind die menschliche Natur von Christus in bewegender, Anteilnahme evozierender Weise vor Augen führt, bezeugt das Erscheinen von Gottvater und Geist-Taube gerade die göttliche Natur des Kindes, die Gottessohnschaft und zugleich Marias Gottesmatterschaft, die sie—wie Tino di Camainos Relief zeigt—zur Fürsprecherin der Menschen befähigt.

Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Kunstgeschichtliches Institut
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1989

Art and Social Radicalism in France, 1900–1914

My project has been to continue research and writing for a book on major and minor artists, writers, critics, and political activists who moved together in the artistic circles in Paris before World War I and who were involved in, or openly sympathetic to, left-wing political movements. In this period many artists (including Picasso, František Kupka, Maurice Vlaminck, and Kees Van Dongen) and writers (Guillaume Apollinaire, André Salmon, and Alfred Jarry) considered a political component to be inherent in the idea of an artistic avant-garde, a term and concept borrowed from the anarchist writings of Petr Kropotkin. The previous generation of symbolists had also equated artistic freedom with political liberation in anarchist terms; but while the symbolist artists had remained linked in significant ways to established artistic traditions, many early modernists created new formal languages expressive of their desire to effect revolutionary changes in art and society. Although fauvism and cubism radically altered the art of our century, the social-aesthetic theories that nurtured them in varying degrees were discredited by the demise of the anarchist movement after World War I, the swing to the right of political discourse during and after the war, and the advent of a resolutely apolitical formalist art criticism. Thus what we might call “revolutionary aesthetics” played a crucial role in the development of modern art in prewar France, but its significance was first suppressed and then forgotten.

These self-consciously “revolutionary” aesthetics need to be understood in relation to the audience this radical new art addressed. My study has revealed an extremely politicized consciousness on the part of many art critics, in the entire range of political allegiance from extreme right to extreme left, in their response to art in general and to modernism in particular. Cubism, especially, was seen as “anarchist,” “revolutionary,” and “an attack on the social fabric,” whether for good or ill. Critics in right-wing newspapers such as *Le Correspondant* and left-wing journals such as *Les Hommes du jour* aggressively guided their readers to political responses to the art of this period—a fact that forces us to reconsider the calculated political component of the controversial art being made and exhibited by modernist artists. Although historians of modernism are familiar—through several collections of primary documents—with the relatively small body of criticism written by those who strongly supported the modernists, we also need to recognize the nature and scope of the broader range of art criticism that flooded Paris in these years and its frequent evocation of political issues that preoccupied and agitated French culture at large.

The artists’ various manifestations and responses to this politicized culture—including satire, political cartoons, “primitivism,” and other socially-critical, “liberated,” and “destructive” art—constitute a cultural politics on their part. This year I have explored the ways in which this artistic and political bohemia nurtured the development of a “modernist” idiom, the political role such artists hoped their art could play, the question of “audience,” and other pertinent issues, in relation to the larger concerns of French political and social culture.

In the first chapter I consider the popular and intellectual echoes of the perception of "Africa," the scandals of the administration of the French Congo, the anticolonialist agitation in Paris, and the response of left-wing artists in political cartoons, often by major modernist figures. The second chapter explores the importance of this political movement for the development among the modernists of a primitivist art specifically alluding to "Africa" as a set of associations and preconceptions as well as forms. Thus this first part of the book is a meditation on the interactions of art and the anticolonialist movement as a case study of modernist agitation of political meanings that echoed through French culture. In the second part, I examine a number of other political issues that agitated the left-wing press from 1900 to 1914 as manifested in satirical cartoons by such older radical artists as Théophile Steinlen and Félix Vallotton and by such younger revolutionary modernists as Kupka, Van Dongen, and Juan Gris. The weeklies *L'Assiette au beurre* and *Les Temps nouveaux* published cartoons bitterly satirizing the government and society on a wide range of issues. Such cartoons manifest a variety of political passions and indignation on the part of the artists, contradicting received notions of their political "neutrality" and of the fundamental irrelevance of this production for an understanding of their art and lives apart from a crude need for money. Last, consideration is given to the cartoons and their part in the cultural politics of modernism in relation to the "high" art and political commitment of such painters as Vlaminck, Kupka, and Van Dongen, who were openly affiliated with the anarchist activists, as well as artists such as Gris and Louis Marcoussis, who were more loosely associated with left-wing sentiment and sometimes more animated by the political passions of their home countries. The political bohemia of the avant-garde scene in France, and its importance for an understanding of the modernist movement, complements our knowledge of modernism's various formal developments and our critical understanding of its "revolutionary" nature.

University of Delaware

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1989–1990

The 1883 Exposition Nationale Triennale

The Exposition Nationale Triennale held in Paris in 1883 was the only government-sponsored exhibition intended as a conservative response to the various aesthetic dissident movements of nineteenth century France, such as romanticism, realism, and impressionism. Although such an exhibition was at the top of the conservative agenda for most of the century, proposed repeatedly, and even decreed by successive governments, it in fact took place only this once. This alone would make it a worthy subject for study but, in fact, virtually nothing has been written about it, largely because most scholarship in nineteenth-century studies until recently has focused on the avant-garde and paid little attention to official and aesthetically conservative institutions. It is my contention, however, that in nineteenth-century France, these institutions created and defined the world of art even for those who reacted against them by setting up counterinstitutions, such as the artist-sponsored series of impressionist shows and the various secession movements. Unless we have a better picture of the official and academic art world, we can know little about any other kind of art world that existed within its parameters. I see the Exposition Nationale Triennale (1883) as part of the dialectic that produced the first Impressionist Exhibition (1874) and the first Salon des Indépendants (1884).

My interest in this exposition has focused on questions such as: why did the show happen in 1883 when it never before had been successful? What did conservatives hope to gain at this late date when so many aesthetic battles had been fought and lost and a sizable *juste milieu* attested to the success of the very aesthetic issues they were trying to combat? Did the exposition accomplish anything? How did the aesthetic opposition (what we call the avant-garde) feel about the show? Why was it never held again?

The early Third Republic in France (1870–1890) was a period when new republican ideals and values were being formulated and put into practice. It is an extremely difficult period for historians to comprehend as currents and crosscurrents abound. Art historians who attempt to make sense out of the institutional history of the period are, by necessity, forced to deal with the same problems. As the exhibition was as much a political as an aesthetic event, I have had to examine parliamentary records, official decrees, and governmental treatises, in addition to the more traditional art historical literature. I have accumulated much of the official documentation over the past two years (and much is in the Library of Congress), but to understand it and assemble it required a period of reflection which my stay at the Center provided. I also used my time to read widely in history, anthropology, and literature in order to rethink the conceptual framework of my project.

My conclusions now are that French art institutions throughout the century (and possibly all art institutions everywhere) developed in tandem with political institutions; for example, the idea of universal suffrage in Salon jury selection paralleled the discussion of the same issue in national elections. I see the debate over the 1883 Exposition Nationale Triennale as the last stand of the traditional aristocratic attitudes and rhetoric that had governed all official

institutions. The abandonment of the annual Salon to artists' control after 1881, and the major conflict that developed between the newly-founded organization of artists, the Société des artistes français, which was to administer it, and the government administrators and academicians who were determined to replace it with an elite, aesthetically conservative, long-interval exhibition, namely the Triennale, all can be seen to have parallels in the political debates of the period. The government's abandonment of its traditional role in directing public taste in favor of supporting a market economy in art production must be construed as part of the economic shift from monopoly capitalism and protectionism to a diversified market-oriented economy based on many independent producers and small entrepreneurial businesses (the oft-cited "nation of shopkeepers"). Looked at economically, among those "shopkeepers" we must number the artists of the various secessionist movements such as impressionism who created a new product (i.e., new styles) and new institutions to bring that product to new markets. Seen in this light, the Exposition Nationale Triennale was a last-ditch attempt to continue former economic patterns of monopoly and protectionism in art production and distribution.

City University of New York, Brooklyn College and Graduate School and
University Center

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1990

SHERRIN MARSHALL

The Dutch Family in Life and Art, 1450–1700

Historians and art historians are becoming increasingly aware of the ways in which new approaches to their respective disciplines can support each other's work. My research as a social historian identified aspirations such as "moderation," "mutuality," and "reciprocity" as important ideals for the society of the early modern Netherlands. These ideals arose at least in part from demographic realities: the high mortality rates for infants and children rendered them not less, but more, significant for the continuation of family and lineage. Man and wife were near-equals in age, which also fostered closeness in gender relationships. Finally, personal and familial religious values revealed and articulated belief in reciprocity between God and the individual, especially in the literate classes.

My goal, first as a fellow at the Folger Shakespeare Library, and then at the Center for Advanced Study, was to scrutinize artifacts of many sorts, including emblem books and their illustrations, as well as works of art, to investigate further the intersection of "life and art" as these were connected in the early modern Netherlands. How can we see, in works of art, the portrayal of the relationships alluded to in the previous paragraph? These questions are explored in a book-length study with which I am currently engaged; my time at the Center yielded numerous visual and literary examples that will be incorporated into it.

Codes of domestic conduct gained new meaning and popularity in the north Netherlands (as well as other European countries) in the aftermath of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Examples of right conduct and guides to daily Christian living used in sermons and theological treatises, were



Pieter de Hooch, *The Bedroom*,
c. 1660
National Gallery of Art,
Washington,
Widener Collection

also explicated in emblem books and incorporated into works of art, such as genre paintings. The artistic depiction of personal relationships, religious beliefs, and social realities changed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, inspired by innovative modes of humanistic portrayal that emerged with the Renaissance. These new modes of religious expression, coupled with changing societal realities, were further enhanced, refined, and embellished by their new uses for emblematic representations. The moralizing intent of emblem books and devotional works on daily life—product of reform and counterreform alike—was well conveyed in both word and image.

If archival, demographic, and literary sources demonstrate that familial relationships were sustained by principles of mutuality and moderation, works of art and artifacts reveal these same principles visually. Such works show that Dutch painters and engravers did portray life around them “as they saw it,” (in the words of Bruegel) but also show that what they “saw” included iconographic emblems and their definitions as an important part of their way of “seeing,” and hence of the ways that they believed reality needed to be portrayed. The emblems that were used, verbally and visually, had real meaning for literate people in terms of their social and religious ideals and realities. In other words, spectators’ awareness of the interplay between symbol and meaning heightened their appreciation of art during this period. To cite just one example that reflects the ideal of moderation, the Calvinist Johan de Brune’s renowned mid-seventeenth-century *Emblemata* depicts a lens in *Emblemata* XXIV, with the caption: “Self-love blinds spirit and sense.” The emblem portrays the sun’s beams focused on a mirror, which in turn reflects the beams onto a vase of artfully arranged flowers. As a result of the reflection of the heated rays, the flowers are wilting. The rhymed explication states: “When the gaze of the Sun, the wondrous-light . . . is collected in a concave lens, it scorches and sears until it burns that which was green and youthful. . . . Passion, Desire should be neither hot, neither cold in all measures. The golden mean holds. Enough, but not too much.” After the engraving and poem that accompanies it, De Brune continues: “To speak clearly: there is no more deceitful or dangerous sin than the excessive love of our own selves. Just as Amnon melted and pined away through love for his own sister, Tamar, the narcissist is consumed by the excessive appetite of his own self.” Multidimensional relationships were expressed verbally and visually, and therefore must be interpreted on several levels. The same could be said for historians’ heightened awareness of the mutuality and interconnectedness of relationships in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Holland.

University of New Hampshire, Plymouth State College
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1989

The Mellon Venus and Bacchus and the Original Sculpture Collection in the Nymphaeum of Villa Visconti Borromeo-Litta in Lainate

Research on the entire sculpture collection of the Lainate nymphaeum, which dates from the end of the sixteenth century, was continued during my fellowship. This study grew from an article prepared with Giancarlo Gentilini for Volume 24 of *Studies in the History of Art*, in which we traced the *ab antiquo* origin of the Mellon *Bacchus* and *Venus* to the Lainate edifice that was built between 1585 and 1590 by the Milanese patron Pirro I Visconti Borromeo. We proposed that these two sculptures share a Lombard origin. This finding prompted me to suspend work temporarily on the attribution of individual pieces in the collection in order to consider instead just what new information has been imparted to scholars of Lombard art as a result of the *Bacchus* and *Venus* study.

During my two-month fellowship I sought to collect documentary evidence which would demonstrate that the *Wunderkammer* of Lainate represented an important center in which a new, international language for painting, sculpture, and the applied arts evolved. The pictorial decoration, the sculpted furnishings, and the various collections of Pirro Visconti Borromeo in the nymphaeum came to serve as models of artistic achievement for those working in Milan from the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was here in the Lainate residence that artists were able to keep as well-informed and up-to-date as those in academies. I have always been convinced that the Lainate nymphaeum, with its collection of renowned paintings (among which, as I have mentioned in previous studies, were original works by Correggio, Luini, and Bronzino) played a guiding role in the development of a new school; in that context, the sculptures also certainly occupied a significant place.

The classical example of ancient or “*all’antica*” sculptures documented in Lainate and the stylistic innovation of such modern artists as Sansovino, Michelangelo, and Giambologna (whose works Pirro Visconti surely must have owned, in the form of small models or tiny replicas) have very precise echoes in contemporary Lombard paintings; furthermore, classical evocation and modern experimentation are characteristics of some of the more important sculptures of the nymphaeum, for example, the *Bacchus* and *Venus*, the *Nymphs* which remain in the large cave at Lainate, and Marc’Antonio Prestinari’s *Adonis*, which recently was bought by the Louvre. They are comparable works and some reflect various inventions of artists such as Cerano, Giulio Cesare Procaccini, Daniele Crespi, Morazzone, and Tanzio da Varallo.

These artists transformed renowned, pagan sculptural models into rhetorical and passionate glorifications of the Catholic church, but one can clearly see their academic application of innovations proposed in the works of the Pirro Visconti collection.

Until now it has been believed that the particularly strong dramatic and sculptural manner in Lombard painting from the beginning of the seventeenth century had its origins in Prague during Rudolph II’s reign—at one of the last



The Mellon *Venus*, c. 1600
National Gallery of Art,
Washington,
Andrew W. Mellon Collection

centers of an international style. It seems that Lombard painting in the age of the so-called *Pestanti* also can be traced through developments in the Lainate nymphaeum, a fascinating center of artistic development that grew out of the elaboration and diffusion of an international style. It was a workshop which in many respects paralleled that of the emperor in Prague, during almost the same years.

Finarte Auction House, Milan

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1989

The Poverty of the Avant-Garde

Interested in the relationship between art and politics in the twentieth century, I chose Russian artistic culture as one of the most dramatic examples appearing in modern history. Artists living in Russia between the October Revolution and the beginning of the 1930s, felt the pressure to subordinate their art to the demands of a new reality, that is the so-called cultural revolution or the first Five-Year Plan introducing the Stalinist regime. The most radical of them, productivists, rejected “easel painting” and chose “direct” involvement in the creation of a utopian future. This activity, formulated under the Marxist-Leninist vision, provokes questions regarding the extent of their historical, political, and artistic responsibility for the revolution, including its consequences, namely the terror in Soviet Russia. The most important problems raised here are the role that art (productivism) played in the building of the Bolshevik state and a reconstruction of a theoretical basis on which the artist could justify to himself ethical responsibility for reality.

The book I am writing on the Russian avant-garde, or—more precisely—on “left art” in Soviet Russia, consists of three parts. At the outset, I describe the political involvement of the “left artists,” their connections with Communists and officials, their hiring policy, and the contradictions that arose with other avant-garde groups. The evolution of this artistic circle is described as well as the institutions and journals they established or with which they collaborated during the period from the October Revolution until the early thirties (IZO and *Iskusstvo Kommuny*, *Inkhuk*, *Vkhutemas*, *Lef*, *Novy Lef*, and finally *USSR in Construction*, the propagandistic magazine published under the Stalinist regime with which some of the avant-garde artists were associated).

Their activity did not, of course, occur in a political vacuum. It must be analyzed in its historical context from the period of “war communism,” through the NEP, up to Stalinism. The subject of my investigation is both the Bolsheviks’ attitude toward the avant-garde, who created a political framework in which left art worked, and in turn, the artists’ strategy in changing reality. As a result, we can see specific policies of Soviet politicians responsible for culture as well as attempts of the avant-garde to establish a kind of “dictatorship” of left artists in visual culture.

The second part of my study is devoted to the problems of “visuality” of left art. Here I trace the evolution from “pure painting,” through “production art,” to photomontages and photography published in *USSR in Construction*. I am interested in the question of how artists associated with this journal were rooted in the productivism of the twenties. In spite of evident differences there are many similarities between earlier productivist posters and the Stalinist “iconosphere” emerging in *USSR in Construction*, designed very often by the same artists.

The question that appears in this context is that of the failure of the Russian avant-garde, a question that now seems more complicated than previously understood. Western scholarship in the history of modern art, identifying the Russian avant-garde with “abstract art,” (partly through the influence of

post-1930s neo-constructivism) typically affirmed that the rupture with the avant-garde occurred under the Stalinist regime. In fact, however, the productivists also bear responsibility for the elimination of abstract art from Soviet culture, as well as for the introduction of Stalinist visual propaganda and artistic intolerance. The origins of the latter are found, among other places, in the disputes carried on in *Inkhuk*, a debate that was ultimately won by productivists. Finally, just as the real crisis of “abstract art,” or better yet “pure art,” took place more in the early twenties than during the cultural revolution, we can say that the tradition of productivism, or constructivism (in original terminology), was still alive in those years.

The last, more general, question in this study concerns the historical and political responsibility of the avant-garde in Russia. My argument is that the artists engaged in Communist politics (even though they criticized the Bolsheviks) through their art and social activity and supported and heightened the totalitarian mood in Soviet Russia. This, however, is not an issue of accusation; the core of the problem is understanding the artists’ intellectual and ethical horizons in a proper historical framework. Reconstructing a consciousness of productivism as a background of its activity, I describe the avant-garde movement in terms of “historicism,” drawing on Karl Popper’s works. The axiological consequence of a theory of “historical necessity” is “historicist relativism” in which human responsibility could be justified in terms of the “purpose” of “history,” i.e. in terms of a utopia. The ideology in which the end justifies the means or, to use Popper’s terminology, the attitude of “utopian engineering,” was very common at the time, and so it seems to be an appropriate methodological approach to the historical interpretation of the artists’ self-identification with the revolution.

According to Popper, we can talk about “the poverty” of such an ethical position. We cannot, however, describe the Russian avant-garde as “poor.” Therefore, the tension between ethical and artistic dimensions of these artists’ work is central to the art of the avant-garde in the twenties. The so-called “great experiment” existing on an aesthetic plane was conditioned by “historicist relativism” in the sphere of ethics; it also means that ethical uncertainty and artistic attainment were not opposed, but rather mutually self-fulfilling phenomena existing in a symbiotic relationship. The left artists paid the necessary price of moral ambiguity in order to secure the historical greatness of their work.

Adam Mickiewicz University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1989–1990

The Private Picture Collection of the Duke of Lerma

During my three-year fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, I completed my dissertation concerning the picture collection of Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas (1552–1625), who in 1599, one year after Philip III's accession to the Spanish throne, was titled I Duke of Lerma and installed as the king's *valido* or favorite, the leading figure at his court. A series of court posts and royal grants enabled the duke to raise his deteriorated house to become the most powerful and second wealthiest in Spain. As a manifestation of his newly elevated estate, Lerma built a picture collection of enormous scale, qualifying him as one of Europe's first nonroyal "megacollectors" (to borrow a term from Jonathan Brown).

Until now our knowledge of the duke's collection has been based on two inventories: the 1607 list of pictures in La Ribera palace, Valladolid, published in 1906 by Florit; and the 1617 inventory of the pictures recorded in the ducal palace and convents in the village of Lerma, published in 1967 by Cervera Vera. The published inventories, however, prove to be only the tip of the iceberg, representing a fragment of the documentation that exists of the Lerma collection. In 1987, I received permission from the Duke of Segorbe to consult the *Archivo de los Duques de Lerma*, the private archive of the Lerma estate papers now belonging to the Medinaceli family and housed in the Hospital de Tavera in Toledo. The archive, which is not catalogued, contains all classes of documentation from the period of the I Duke of Lerma, including wills, property records, papal and royal decrees, patronage contracts with various religious foundations, and household bookkeeping records. Another category of records exciting to find for the purposes of my work were the enormous household inventories made as private records of the contents of Lerma's residences. I found thirteen inventories of the Duke of Lerma's art collection dating from 1603 to 1637. On the basis of this discovery, his collection proves to be far more extensive, and richer, than had previously been thought.

The wealth of unpublished material found in the *ADL* describing the Duke's picture collection dictated the focus of my dissertation. Nine of the inventories, those taken during the duke's lifetime, are transcribed and annotated in the second section of the dissertation. Much of my time was spent collating the individual entries of the inventories, because they were drawn up at different times and locations. There is evidence that the same picture appeared in several inventories, indicating that the duke shifted his picture collection from one palace to the next in various stages of its evolution. I also attempted to trace all of the works that bear attributions. The staff at the Center for Advanced Study kindly assisted me in setting up a computerized format for the presentation of the transcribed Lerma inventories with annotations and notes.

By conservative estimate, the Duke of Lerma owned approximately fifteen hundred paintings, including masterpieces by Fra Angelico, Correggio, Allori, Titian, Veronese, the Bassani, Cambiaso, Bosch, Anthony Mor, Rubens, El Greco, Ribalta, Pantoja de la Cruz, Bartolomé and Vicente Carducho, as well as numerous copies of Italian and Flemish artists whose works were rare, such

as Raphael and Metsys. The Lerma inventories prove that the duke's collection was the most important private picture collection in Spain in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, and that he set the fashion for large-scale picture collecting, previously thought to have begun in the Count-Duke Olivares' circle in the 1630s, at the Spanish court.

The formation and evolution of the Lerma collection are discussed in three distinct stages, during which time the duke decorated five residences in Valladolid, La Ventosilla, Madrid, and Lerma, as well as numerous religious foundations patronized by him. The foundation of Lerma's taste in the Spanish royal collection as it had been formed by Philip II, and its development under the direction of his agent-painter, the Florentine Bartolomé Carducho, are examined. The significance of his collection in terms of its enormous scale and its content are placed within the context of the history of picture collecting in early seventeenth-century Europe. In this I benefited from discussions with Zygmunt Wazbinski, who took time from his stay at the Center to read my manuscript and offer many helpful criticisms. Evidence is provided that Lerma's taste for Venetian and Florentine artists and his interest in naturalism had an impact on the court artists of Philip III who were Velázquez's predecessors.

I see my dissertation as the beginning of a larger investigation of the art of the court of Philip III, the "missing chapter" in the history of Spanish art of the Golden Age. The discovery and analysis of the Lerma inventories prove that it was the Duke of Lerma rather than Philip III who served as the link in the Hapsburg tradition of collecting and patronage established by Charles V and Philip II and continued by Philip IV.

[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
David E. Finley Predoctoral Fellow, 1987-1990

The Dal Pozzo Picture Collection

The Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellowship enabled me to evaluate the precise holdings of the picture collection formed primarily by Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657), perhaps one of the most famous *marchand amateur* collectors of Rome during the first half of the seventeenth century. Francis Haskell, in his study on art and society in baroque Italy, *Patrons and Painters* (1971), calls Cassiano “the most cultivated and learned of all Italian art patrons” and states that he “entirely dominated the scene during the reign of Urban VIII and by his taste and intelligence exerted an influence on the arts wholly out of proportion to his income or limited political power.” Cassiano’s collection is perhaps most famous for the first set of the *Seven Sacraments* (one of which is in the National Gallery of Art, that of *Baptism*) and numerous other works by Nicolas Poussin.

While important studies on Cassiano and his collection by Haskell and Rinehart, Blunt, Brejon de Lavergnée, Jean Goldman, and others have certainly proved this evaluation to be correct, they were unaware of three hitherto unknown dal Pozzo inventories, taken in 1729, 1740, and 1771, that are housed among the papers of the Boccapaduli family in the Archivio Capitolino in Rome that I discovered in 1984. Without these inventories, scholars found it difficult to identify exactly what pictures Cassiano and—as I’ve discovered—his brother Carlo Antonio (1606–1689) added to the collection by the time of its first known general inventory, taken in 1689. Unfortunately, no surviving document spells out exactly which pictures Cassiano owned during his lifetime, nor does it seem that one will appear, since he gave his collection to his



Nicolas Poussin, *The Baptism of Christ*, 1641/1642
National Gallery of Art,
Washington,
Samuel H. Kress Collection

brother Carlo Antonio on the occasion of the latter's marriage to Teodora Costa on 14 October 1627, *de perpetuo fidecommisso*, which is to say that any subsequent purchase he would make after that date automatically would become Carlo Antonio's. Consequently, knowledge of the collection, which remained scattered until the discovery of these inventories, stemmed primarily from Cassiano's voluminous correspondence with various artists, dealers, and other individuals, from two inventories of the effects left by Cassiano's immediate heirs taken in 1689 and 1695, and from observations of the dal Pozzo collection made by various individuals throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such as the important list of dal Pozzo pictures made by Giuseppe Ghezzi in 1715 when they were exhibited in the cloister of San Salvatore in Lauro in Rome.

I was able to reestablish the contents of the dal Pozzo picture collection by grafting evidence of the pictures from all of these dal Pozzo inventories and documents. Particularly helpful was the extensive 1740 inventory which, because it was drawn up as the result of numerous suits against the dal Pozzo estate, records all of the extant pictures mentioned in the inventories of 1689 and 1695. Moreover, it also lists works that were either sold off or added to the collection by 1740. The data presented in this and other new inventories also enabled me to identify artists of formerly unattributed works; to make clear distinctions between copies and originals; to record conditions, measurements, and frames of each picture; to identify numerous portraits; and to record any inscriptions left on either side of the pictures.

Having defined the overall holdings of the dal Pozzo collection, I was able to reaffirm its role as one of the most influential collections in Italy and Europe during the first half of the seventeenth century and later, but also to assess its overall nature. It now appears that Cassiano and Carlo Antonio collected primarily for didactic, and not entirely aesthetic, reasons, a common practice during the early seicento, and which may explain why almost a third of the collection consisted of copies of pictures by other artists—many of which can now be identified from the descriptions of these new inventories. Generally, these copies fall into two groups; works after Renaissance artists such as Perugino, Raphael (in one instance, by Pietro da Cortona), Correggio, Padovanino, Andrea del Sarto, Leonardo, and Michelangelo, among others; and those after seicento contemporaries of Cassiano, such as Poussin (in two cases, by Pietro Testa), Domenichino, Caravaggio, Sacchi, Guercino, and Reni. While it was not unusual for picture collections of this period to contain replicas of works of others, it seems that copies played a specific educational role in the dal Pozzo collection, particularly when one examines it within the overall context of the other materials assembled largely by Cassiano with the assistance of Carlo Antonio, such as the famous *museo cartaceo* and their important library. Considered in this light, it is not difficult to imagine that the dal Pozzo residence, filled with its encyclopedic body of visual, literary, archaeological, and various other sundry collections, sparked the imagination and challenged the wits of any number of young artists working in Rome during the first quarter of the century, such as, perhaps, Nicolas Poussin.

University of Denver, School of Art
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer, 1989

CHRISTOPHER THOMAS

The Lincoln Memorial and Its Architect, Henry Bacon (1866–1924)

Although it is a place held sacred to the nation, attracting millions of visitors annually, and its image appears in advertisements, films, television programs, promotions of patriotic and democratic causes of all sorts, and even on coins and Treasury notes, the Lincoln Memorial seems to have resisted being investigated in depth. It has a timeless and inevitable appearance that discourages questioning, and this may explain in part why the memorial as a whole has never been the object of a sustained study (although the statue and its sculptor, Daniel Chester French, have). My work is an attempt to document the background, design, building, and critical reception of the memorial and to suggest why it has become so vital to the iconography and ritual of the nation.

The study is in three parts. The first is a biography of the memorial's architect, Henry Bacon, who like the building itself has never been studied in detail. This suggested that a personal and artistic biography would make a useful adjunct to a study of the building. In 1911, when the Lincoln Memorial Commission created by Congress chose Bacon as its consulting architect, he was unknown to the public, although he had already distinguished himself as a designer of settings for monuments and memorials, collaborating in them with numerous academic sculptors, especially French, who was virtually his partner. Having traveled in the Greek world and studied its architecture with care (his brother had been an archaeologist), Bacon possessed particular skill in adapting Greek classical ornament to modern buildings and programs. He was brought to the attention of the Lincoln Memorial Commission by its artistic advisers, the Commission of Fine Arts.

The second part of my study is devoted to establishing the historical, cultural, and political context in which the Lincoln Memorial, the largest memorial commission ever undertaken by the government, was built. Abra-



Henry Bacon, *The Lincoln Memorial*, 1911–1922, photographed 2 May 1923
Library of Congress, photograph courtesy National Gallery of Art Photographic Archives, Dunlap Society

ham Lincoln had already become a symbol of the American people, and one chapter concerns the development of the "Lincoln legend" between 1860 and 1920. A survey is made of earlier, failed attempts to memorialize him on a grand scale in the capital, with emphasis on the period between 1902, when the McMillan Plan for Washington (which included a Lincoln memorial) was presented, and 1911, when the Lincoln Memorial Commission was struck. Here I explored a tangled web of political figures, interest groups, and issues surrounding the question of a memorial to Lincoln.

The third part is a study of the design and building of the memorial between 1911 and 1922 and of its critical reception in the 1920s. I had arrived at the Center for Advanced Study with this section approximately half-finished (the first two were already written), and I used the first half of the year (and the opportunity to prepare a shoptalk) to develop the closing chapter, which is a description of the memorial and a discussion of its critical reception. The responses of the deans, members, and guests of the Center to my talk proved extremely helpful in shaping this chapter. I was led to focus it more tightly from a study of the entire physical and symbolic "after-life" of the memorial up to today, to a careful treatment of the memorial in the twenties. (I still plan to carry out my original project once this study is complete.) My colleagues' responses also stimulated investigation of alternative critical and methodological models, especially literary reception theory.

The remainder of my time at the Center has been devoted to editing my study and preparing it for submission. In addition, I have worked part-time for the Archives of the National Gallery of Art, organizing and studying a large suite of drawings by I.M. Pei's office for the East Building (1968-1978), in which that extremely complicated and rigorous design was developed in its early stages.

In addition to working in Washington close to my research sources, the fellowship has given me the opportunity to share ideas and critical viewpoints with scholars from a variety of specialties and backgrounds. Previously I had been working in some isolation, and the scholarly cross-pollination and the example of my colleagues' critical sophistication and self-awareness have enriched my work and thought more than I can say.

[Yale University]

Samuel H. Kress Predoctoral Fellow, 1988-1990

The Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte and the New Patronage

In my research on artistic patronage in Rome at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, I have chosen to study Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte (1549–1626), a monsignor born in Venice and educated in Padua and Urbino. He lived for many years in Rome, from 1574 until his death, and was intimately familiar with the neighboring cultural centers of Florence, Siena, Naples, and Mantua. Despite his reputation as a great politician, very little is known of the cardinal's career as a patron; until recently, he was known only as a sponsor of Caravaggio. It seems, however, that he was the founder of a new system that can be described as state patronage *avant la lettre*.

The starting point for my studies, which have greatly advanced since my stay at the Center, was the reconstruction of Cardinal del Monte's collection. The catalogue of del Monte's collection following his death in 1627, published by C. L. Frommel (1971), reveals that it contained about 1,700 paintings, 60 antique sculptures, and 150 small bronzes, antique and modern. Except for Caravaggio scholars who have studied the inventory, no one has ever fully examined the collection.

From the *epistolario* of Cardinal del Monte and the inventories of his successors, Rainiero del Monte and Alessandro del Monte, which have not been published, it is clear that the collections were larger than previously acknowledged. In addition to painting and sculpture, he collected tapestries and crystal, a library of approximately thirty-five hundred items, and watercolors of natural history specimens by Ligozzi and his followers. In addition, he had a very rich collection known as *Museum cartaceum*, that included drawings of copies from antique sculpture, bas-reliefs, mosaics, and paintings. Clearly the



Follower of Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *Still Life*, 1615/1620
National Gallery of Art,
Washington,
Samuel H. Kress Collection

paintings, representing artistic schools throughout Italy, were the most important aspect of the collection. The Roman school was represented by the works of Girolamo Muziano, Giuseppe Cesari called the Cavaliere d'Arpinov, Cherubino Alberti, Ottavio Leoni, and Scipione Pulzone. The Bolognese school was represented by the works of Agostino and Annibale Carracci, Guido Reni, Francesco Albani, and Domenichino. The Venetian school was seen in the works of Carlo Saraceni, Francesco Bassano, and Palma the Younger. Urbino sent works by Frederico Vanni, Jacopo Ligozzi, Antonio Tempesta, and Lodovico Cigoli. The school of Naples was represented by Filippo Napoletano, Battistello, and Jusepe de Ribera. And finally, the Lombard Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio was included in this catholic collection. Among the non-Italians were Jan Bruegel, the Elder, Peter Paul Rubens, the Germans Adam Elsheimer and Johann Rottenhammer, and the French Simon Vouet and Claude Vignon.

What were the origins of this collection? Certainly, Cardinal del Monte bought some paintings, and he discovered several antique sculptures during the excavations done under the arches of the Colosseum in 1603, but most of his collection came as gifts from the artists themselves or their friends. This unusual practice can be explained by two factors: first, Cardinal del Monte was invested in 1587 with special *pouvoirs* by Ferdinand de' Medici; he therefore became a powerful political figure in Rome. Second, his interest in the arts was recognized in 1596 when he was called by Clement VIII to be the protector of the Academy of Saint Luke. Within a few years he became the guardian of two important musical institutions, the Cappella Papale and the Congregazione dei Musici di Roma. Finally he became il Prefetto della Fabbrica di San Pietro. He was clearly in control of artistic life in Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The presence of so many works of foreign artists in the collection of del Monte at Palazzo Madama suggests that the residence of the Roman prelate became a kind of *pied-à-terre* for artists visiting from all parts of Italy and Europe. Visitors to Palazzo Madama came either looking for employment or to study the great works of art. The palazzo became a salon and academy for artists as well as connoisseurs and literati, and the artists and collectors gave works of art in gratitude to their protector. The importance of this collection to artistic life in Rome during this period is essential to understanding the origin of the Caravaggio style and the triumph of naturalism in seventeenth-century European art.

University of Torun, Institute of Fine Arts
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1990

Issues of Popular and Avant-Garde Culture in the Work of Pablo Picasso and Marcel Duchamp, 1912–1917

My tenure as a predoctoral fellow has afforded me generous research time in Paris. In particular, I was able to collect a great deal of rare and invaluable periodical literature and ephemera pertaining to French cultural history from my period of study. I have devoted my residency at the Center to writing a large part of my dissertation, a section of which was prepared for publication in a forthcoming anthology of essays on modern art and popular culture.

The history of the avant-garde in Paris during the 1910s is closely bound to sources in urban popular culture. Somewhat ironically, avant-garde art is generally recognized as having been hermetic or decidedly inaccessible to the popular audience of its day—this at a time when the exhibition and market system of galleries and salons afforded unprecedented visibility to contemporary art. With this paradox as the governing theme, my study of the avant-garde and popular culture is divided into three parts, consisting of background material from 1871 to the prewar years, and monographic studies on Picasso and Duchamp.

Background study of the artistic and literary milieu in Paris after the Franco-Prussian War reveals a subgenre of comic aesthetics which acted as counterpart to developments in “high art,” and which was consistently associated with activities at the café and cabaret—public gathering places appropriated by artists and poets as private clubs or alternate “academies.” Groups such as the Zutistes, the Fumistes, the Hydropathes and the Incohérents, which fostered experiments in parody, argot, caricature and the like, thrived in conjunction with the lofty ideals of, for example, the symbolist movement. While these two modes are typically addressed as mutually exclusive, their relationship in fact displays a significant reciprocity. In many cases the same figures played both sides; and both sides practiced strategies of internal logic and impenetrable code designated for the appreciation of group initiates. The theme of aesthetic insiders and outsiders emerged as a dominant leitmotif for the generation of 1914. The examples of Picasso and Duchamp are especially rich.

Popular performance culture of the prewar period constitutes not only a source but a model for Picasso’s collages of 1912–1914. In particular, a genre of music hall performance called the *revue de fin d’année* furnishes a complete agenda of collage motifs and stylistic devices. The *revue*, comprised of short comic tableaux, draws its subject matter from current events, *actualités*, and as in collage, its chief materials are ephemeral: the newspaper, advertising, and popular song. The cardinal comic devices of the *revue*—punning word play and allusions, and a rapid succession of disjunctive parts that swerve clear of sustained narrative—compose the essential visual and verbal structural principles of collage, with its cropping and shuffling of drawing, painting, and printed *actualités*. Significantly, the *revue* (which can be traced as a genre to the early eighteenth century) enjoyed a wild popularity beginning around 1910, two years before the invention of collage, and continuing unabated through the three prewar years of collage activity. The *revue* also had an intense cultural

life outside the music hall; the format was especially popular with satirical periodicals and was generously used by the daily press. The *revue*, then, was a comic system according to which Parisian society observed and commented itself. As such, we can say that it establishes a series of larger cultural coordinates for collage. Moreover, predicated on the conceit of in-jokes and a secret understanding between the artist and his audience, the *revue* permits us to examine the junction between extroverted populism and hermetic aestheticism in Picasso's prewar oeuvre.

The cardinal act of Duchamp's career, his decision to abandon the practice of painting, can be examined as a function of his experience with salon cubism in 1911–1912. Antagonistic period criticism and popular opinion concerning the avant-garde in general and salon exhibitions in particular contain the terms on which such a decision could have been based, as well as the debates underpinning Duchamp's subsequent work (the readymades and the *Large Glass*). In this regard, we should examine the vast prewar proliferation of avant-garde "isms," said to be engaged in pseudo-originality, deliberate obfuscation, or self-promotional bluff. Duchamp trafficked in this syndrome of distrust pertaining to questions of sincerity and "good faith" that suffused the negative perception of the avant-garde at large as a self-conscious enterprise, then referred to pejoratively as "avant-gardism." *Blague* and *mystification*, distinctly popular forms of French ironic deadpan humor and practical joke which can themselves be traced as larger sociocultural phenomena in prewar Paris, were devices with which Duchamp worked the no man's land between originality and incomprehension. The artist's notorious comic play is in fact an idiomatic expression of this historical culture of irony and hoax. Indeed, it allows us to characterize early modernism as a charged field of ambiguous claims, disorienting instability, and tremendous latitude.

The music-hall-styled ballet *Parade* from 1917 (on which Picasso collaborated) represents a burlesque epilogue to the prewar years. Its narrative, composed by Jean Cocteau, is drawn from the carnival sideshow typically performed outside a fairground tent in order to cajole passersby to pay admission and attend the show inside, the *spectacle interieur*. Cocteau wrote the ballet as an allegory of the avant-garde and the hostile spectator, and the work is now taken as a wartime effort to charm and appease that misfired, resulting in scandal. But a close examination of *Parade's* sources in popular culture, which include music hall performance and modern advertising as well as fairground theater, raises more challenging questions about the dynamic of modern art and its uncomprehending popular audience. Less an allegory, the ballet was an actual demonstration of that dynamic at work.

[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
Paul Mellon Predoctoral Fellow, 1987–1990

ERNST VAN DE WETERING

Research on Rembrandt's Paintings and Painting Technique

The Rembrandt Research Project published in the period of my fellowship the third volume of *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*. Work on the fourth volume, however, has been in full progress since 1988. My stay at the Center for Advanced Study provided the opportunity to collect data on four paintings in the National Gallery of Art that will be dealt with in the forthcoming volume. I also hoped to have an opportunity to study a number of paintings in New York. Finally, I hoped to devote some time to one topic in a series of chapters on Rembrandt's technique: the investigation of Rembrandt's use of binding media and the consequence of the choice of binding media for the consistency of his paint and, ultimately, for his style.

The paintings in the National Gallery were studied by members of the Rembrandt Research Project for the first time in 1971. Since then the museum has carried out research to varying degrees on these paintings. The *Old Lady with a Book* and *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife* have been restored. In this connection X-rays of the complete paintings were taken and some paint samples analyzed. Although the other two paintings on which I focused, *A Girl with a Broom* and the *Self-Portrait* of 1650, had not been treated since 1971, the museum files also contained new information on them: full X-rays and infrared photographs. For all four paintings, research into their pedigrees and a survey of references in the literature had been completed in preparation for a catalogue of the Dutch and Flemish paintings in the National Gallery. The curator of this part of the collection, Arthur Wheelock, generously permitted access to this information and, most important, arranged to have three of the



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife*, 1655
National Gallery of Art,
Washington,
Andrew W. Mellon Collection

four paintings (the *Old Lady with a Book* was in Cincinnati) unframed and made available for microscopic investigation of the surface and close comparison of the X-radiographs with the paintings. I was extremely grateful for the opportunity to study each of the paintings for two or three days under ideal conditions. All three paintings represent quite complicated cases, and the results of my observations will have to be evaluated in a broader context in the process of writing the fourth volume.

In New York I had the opportunity to study (under varying conditions) the *Aristotle*, the *Man with a Glove*, and the *Admiral and His Wife* in the Metropolitan Museum, and the *Polish Rider* in the Frick Collection. Those paintings on canvas, as well as the four Washington paintings, were investigated with the help of X-radiographs for traces of cusping, thread density, and so on.

Of great importance for our project concerning Rembrandt's binding medium was the chance to work with the conservation scientist and conservator Richard Wolbers from the Winterthur Conservation Training Program at the University of Delaware. With his refined staining techniques, we carried out a pilot test program on a series of samples of the *Night Watch*. The aim of this binding medium project is not so much to identify the oil used by Rembrandt—we already know thanks to analysis at the National Gallery in London that this was almost exclusively linseed oil—but the kind of processing the oil went through to adapt its properties to the needs of Rembrandt. My stay at the Center provided a welcome opportunity to write a report on various aspects of this problem, as an intermediate step in the continuation of these interdisciplinary investigations.

University of Amsterdam
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1989

Caspar Netscher and Late Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting

One of the most successful and influential Dutch artists of the late seventeenth century, Caspar Netscher (1635/6–1684) today lies buried beneath a pall of misattribution and changing tastes. Pupil of Gerard Terborch, Netscher painted genre scenes and histories through the 1660s and early 1670s that are graceful, sensitive representations of the refined taste of the times. He softened the minutely detailed elegance of paintings by the Leiden *fijnschilders* (for example, Gerrit Dou and Frans van Mieris) with a more lively and personal painterly touch. Despite the artistic success of these compositions, however, by about 1670 Netscher had turned almost completely to portraiture, and it was in this province that he made his most innovative contributions. Enriched with luxurious attributes and accessories, Netscher's small-scale portraits presaged eighteenth-century developments in portrait painting throughout Europe by offering the sitter an up-to-date image of status and affluence with an international flair quite different from earlier, more sober traditions in Dutch portraiture.

The first goal of my study was to present a clearer, more objective picture of Netscher's life and work, for he had received scant scholarly attention since the pioneering studies of Bredius and Hofstede de Groot early in this century. An extensive list of new documents pertaining to Netscher's life and work, family and descendants; and a catalogue raisonné of about 175 accepted paintings conclude the dissertation.



Caspar Netscher, *La leçon de musique*, 1664
Musées de la Ville de Paris:
Petit Palais

A primary focus of this study is on Netscher's innovations in the field of portraiture, the largest and most neglected portion of his oeuvre. The breadth and noblesse of Netscher's patronage raise questions about his social and artistic relationship to his clients, who sought a more equal footing with European patrician society.

The more sophisticated international orientation of the patriciate in the latter part of the seventeenth century was similarly expressed in the art of the period. What has frequently been termed the "decline" or decadence of Dutch art as a result of the pernicious influence of foreign (particularly French) art can be shown to be a natural development within Dutch painting. During this period certain renowned hallmarks of Dutch art—such as the *fijnschilders'* minute attention to detail—were consciously intensified in an effort to heighten the appeal of Dutch art throughout Europe. At the same time, Dutch painting continued to reflect the interests and priorities of Dutch society, which now resulted in elegant depictions of the more "aristocratized" and the international focus of the regent class. Caspar Netscher's paintings—particularly his portraits—heralded these developments and set the standard for suitable representations of an aristocratized patriciate through the eighteenth century.

The second focus of my research during the past year has been the role of drawings in Netscher's atelier, particularly, how they relate to his paintings and what they reveal about his working process. Netscher's subject drawings (genre and history) can be divided into several groups on the basis of technique and function. First, there are quick compositional sketches in which possible combinations of pose and gesture are explored. The second group, more polished in technique, record finished paintings. Several carry inscriptions on the verso in Netscher's hand, pertaining to the date and often the price of the painted composition. With these *ricordi*, Netscher documented his works in a manner similar to Claude Lorrain in his *Liber Veritatis*, rare among Dutch artists.

Portrait drawings by Netscher and his studio are slightly different in character, and are geared toward the operation of a more extensive atelier. There are again a few swift compositional sketches, mostly for early multifigured portraits. A series of detailed studies of various compositional elements—hands, draperies, sculptural garlands, and such—were incorporated into various paintings and, as evidenced by numerous copies after the drawings, were also used as models for the training of pupils and apprentices. Finally, there are again *ricordi* of finished portrait compositions, drawings both by Netscher and, from the late 1670s, by other members of the atelier, among them his son Theodoor. Inscriptions on many of these drawings supply dates, names, color notes, and occasionally, information on how the basic composition was to be altered to suit a later patron. The latter instances involve not just paintings by Caspar Netscher, but also by his son Constantijn and members of *his* atelier. With the help of these drawings, I have been able to further distinguish works by later followers, which have long been accredited Caspar Netscher *exculdit*, rather than *invenit*.

[Columbia University]

Robert H. and Clarice Smith Predoctoral Fellow, 1989–1990

Erwin Panofsky and the National Gallery of Art

The project to which I devoted my efforts from 15 October to 17 December 1989 in Washington and Princeton was further research in preparation for an edition of selections from the correspondence of Erwin Panofsky. The research goals that I outlined in my previous report (*Center 9*, 1989) have not changed in the meantime. During these two months, I was able to complete a preliminary selection from the approximately sixteen thousand letters which are preserved in the Panofsky Papers of the Archives of American Art in Washington, D.C. I was also able to evaluate the Archives of the Milton S. Eisenhower Library of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, and those of the National Gallery of Art, Washington. In addition, I have begun to examine the materials held in the Special Collections Department of the Princeton University Library.

As previously pointed out, I expected my work with Panofsky's correspondence to bring to light a number of interesting contributions to the history of American institutions. I now would like to take the National Gallery of Art as a case in point.

Erwin Panofsky's association with the National Gallery began, to the best of my knowledge, in January of 1942. His contact at the time was Elizabeth Mongan, curator of the Lessing J. Rosenwald collection in Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, who became curator of prints at the National Gallery in 1943. Panofsky was at this time nearing completion of his two-volume work on Dürer and had a pressing need for reproductions of Dürer's graphic works. He turned to the largest American collection of Dürer prints, the Rosenwald, with a request for assistance, emphasizing that without their help, his book could not possibly be published. He received the requested aid, and in this manner the National Gallery was able to contribute indirectly to the publication of the greatest work on Dürer of this century. Aside from the routine correspondence detailing the desired illustrations, the National Gallery also preserves a number of valuable personal letters which Panofsky wrote to Elizabeth Mongan, and these will certainly have to be taken into consideration in the forthcoming edition.

Within the framework of the National Gallery's Sunday lecture series, Panofsky spoke on two separate occasions. On 23 November 1947, he lectured on "*Et in Arcadia Ego*, a Discussion of Poussin's Painting" and on 5 March 1950, he spoke about "Symbolism in Early Flemish Painting." Both of these lectures stand in close connection with well-known works published by Panofsky.

In the spring of 1966, the National Gallery celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary with a large exhibition of impressionist masters from the collections of Paul Mellon and Ailsa Mellon Bruce. A medal was commissioned for the same occasion, the bestowal of which was to honor twenty-five people who had committed themselves to art education in colleges and universities. Erwin Panofsky was among them. The medal portrays on one side a symbolic eagle, designed by Leonard Baskin, and on the reverse, an inscription executed by calligrapher John Everett Benson. An honorarium of \$500 was given with

the medal. The award ceremony took place on 17 March 1966 in the East Room of the White House. As Mrs. Lyndon Johnson presented the medal to Panofsky, she told the honoree, "I have read your books, and they have changed my life." The story of this event was reported to me by Gerda Panofsky. Several letters were exchanged concerning the bestowal of this honor on Panofsky, and these have also been preserved, including one from the Gallery's assistant director at the time, John Carter Brown. Following are the texts of the invitation which director John Walker sent to Panofsky and the reply he received.

*National Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington 25, D.C., Office of the Director
January 25, 1966*

Dear Dr. Panofsky:

As part of the program celebrating its Twenty-fifth Anniversary, the National Gallery of Art is awarding a medal designed by Leonard Baskin and a stipend of \$500 for outstanding service in the field of art history and education. I am enclosing a list of the teachers whom we have selected for this award. As you will see they are in most cases art supervisors and teachers in secondary schools. We are anxious however to make these teachers feel a part of an important discipline. To do this we are offering the award to you and to Professor Ackerman.

As you are the outstanding art historian in the United States it would mean a great deal to us and to the other award winners, I am sure, if you would be willing to accept this award. I am hopeful that the awards will be given at the White House on March 17th, and therefore we are asking all recipients to come to Washington at our expense with their wives or husbands as the case may be.

I know you have received so many honors that this must seem to you a very minor one by comparison, but as I said before if you are willing to be a recipient I think your great reputation would be an inspiration to all the others.

With warmest regards,

*Sincerely yours,
John Walker*

Professor Erwin Panofsky, The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey

January 31, 1966

Dear Mr. Walker:

Many thanks for your kind letter of January 15, 1966. I shall be very pleased to accept the National Gallery of Art medal on March 17th, all the more as this occasion will give me a chance of renewing our past and, as far as I am concerned, most agreeable acquaintance.

I presume that I shall be informed in due time of such technical problems as the time schedule, the kind of dress I am supposed to bring and hotel accommodation. If it does not make any difference to the National Gallery I should very much like to stay at the Hay-Adams of which I retain a very pleasant memory.

With my renewed thanks, and looking forward to seeing you (provided that nothing intervenes) in March, believe me,

*Sincerely yours,
Erwin Panofsky*

*Universität Bamberg
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1989*



*National Gallery of Art Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Medal of Honor, 1966, Leonard Baskin, sculptor, John Everett Benson, calligrapher
Courtesy Mrs. Gerda Panofsky*

*Central Italian Renaissance Drawings in the Museum of Fine Arts,
Budapest*

The Department of Prints and Drawings of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest possesses over six hundred Italian drawings dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, most of them from the Esterházy collection. These drawings are largely unknown to the public, having never been published. As curator of the Italian Renaissance drawings in the museum, I have been working on a comprehensive catalogue of this collection for several years.

During the two-month sojourn in Washington I set myself the task of first gathering information on the graphic activities of about thirty Italian artists and data related to our drawings. In this work I was greatly helped by the photographic archives of the National Gallery, where I found useful information on our drawings, including those by the school of Raphael, Giulio Romano, Federico Barocci, and several Florentine masters. While consulting this collection I was able to throw light on the designation and chronology of the Prague drawing by Fra Bartolomeo and to find additional material on the question of the collaboration of Fra Bartolomeo and Fra Paolino. The usefulness of the photographic archives for my purpose was enhanced by the fact that they hold the whole stock of the *Corpus Photographicum of Drawings* to date and photographic material of the Witt Library, available in microform.

In the library of the National Gallery, complemented by the Library of Congress and other American libraries through interlibrary loan services, I was able to consult important publications previously out of my reach: above all fundamental monographs published in the United States, including numerous dissertations, periodicals, and exhibition catalogues. My work was facilitated by the library's computerized information services.

Through these resources and the Frick Art Reference Library in New York, I gathered new information on Ghirlandaio, Bandinelli, Sangallo, Salviati, Allori, Vasari and his circle, Ligozzi, Chimenti, Vanni, Salimbeni, Fontana, Girolamo da Carpi, Franco, Siciolante, Muziano, and Zuccari. In relation to the drawings of the last two artists I obtained important new information at the Baltimore Museum of Art and utilized lessons from the recent Zuccari exhibition at the Milwaukee Art Museum. On the basis of new data, I had to shift one of our drawings, previously thought to be central Italian, to the north Italian group as a work now attributable to Bernardino India.

I investigated as well the earliest Italian drawing in our collection. This drawing (the first in the catalogue of the 1985 Washington exhibition of the Budapest drawings) was interpreted by former research as a depiction of a hunting or a chivalric scene. Starting with an idea that struck me while examining illustrations of one of the codices of the Pierpont Morgan Library (M 805-807), I studied some parts of the Arthurian cycle, for which I found exquisite material in the Library of Congress, and I believe now to be correct in identifying the theme of our drawing as an episode of the history of Lancelot du Lac (Lancelot meets the converts who lead him to the tomb of Galahad).



Anonymous Bolognese Master,
Scene from a Knightly Tale,
early fifteenth century
Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

During my sojourn in Washington and in New York conversations with notable researchers were of great help to me. Consultations with Craig Hugh Smyth, Janet Cox-Rearick, and Robert Gaston helped me to clear up some questions of the drawings by Pontormo and Bronzino; Diane De Grazia's recent paper, kindly put at my disposal in manuscript, held valuable information on the art of drawing by Bertola and on the decoration of the Oratorio del Gonfalone in Rome. I consulted Caroline Karpinski on the relationship between chiaroscuro woodcuts and preparatory drawings as well as Zygmunt Wazbinski on the artist's training in late sixteenth-century Rome and Florence. In New York I discussed some problems concerning our drawings by Perino del Vaga with Bernice Davidson; much useful information was obtained also from the seventy-eighth annual conference of the College Art Association; Ted Pillsbury's lecture on Barocci provided data useful in the analysis of one of our drawings by this artist.

Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1990

